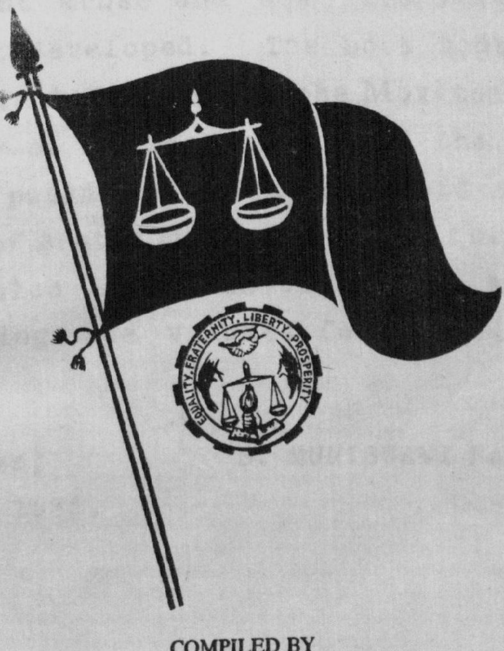
THE

JUSTICE MOVEMENT

1917

(A detailed account of the activities of the Justice Movement in the first year of its existence.)



COMPILED BY

Diwan Bahadur T. VARADARAJULU NAIDU

PUBLISHED BY
DRAVIDAR KAZHAGAM, MADRAS

FOREWORD.

I have great pleasure in recommending to the public the Book "Justice Movement in 1917" Much credit is due to M. R. Ry. Diwan Bahadur T. Varadarajulu Naidu for compiling it and publishing it. Every Non-Brahmin would like to know how the Movement arose and how from stage to stage it developed. The book contains all salient features of the Movement in the year of its inception, and the Non-Brahmin public of Madras are laid under a debt of gratitude to Mr. Naidu for the work, which I hope he will complete by continuing the volumes for subsequent years.

Madras, B. MUNISWAMI NAIDU.

9th Jan. 1932.

PREFACE.

It has been my long cherished desire to bring out a series of publications, chronicling the important events of every year, relating to the great democratic movement for which "Justice" stands, and though I was able to issue in the early part of 1930, a publication entitled "Justice Year Book", embodying the main events of 1929, which was well received by the leading members of the Justice Party in the Province, circumstances, over which I had no control, precluded me from continuing the work and issuing a similar book for 1930. It is felt, however by many well-wishers of the Party, that the material, which I had collected, relating to the progress of the Justice movement, since its inauguration in 1917 by the late Dr. T. M. Nair and Sir P. Theagaraya Chetti, should be utilised in some measure, and I have ventured, therefore, to issue the present book, which relates to the events of 1917, the year when the Party came into existence. The year was one in which the Montford Reforms were on the anvil, and I have included in the compilation some contemporary political literature, to elucidate the views of our Party on the subject.

The book is divided into two Sections, the first dealing mainly with the views of our Party leaders on the reforms then under contemplation and other matters, and the second embodying the Proceedings of the First Confederation and other Non-Brahmin Conferences held in the year. The Rules of the S. I. L. F. as they stood in 1917 and the Constitution of the S. I. L. F. as it now stands are printed in the Appendix.

T. V. N.

Dec. 31.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

When I had an occasion to meet and enquire about the history of the 'Justice Party', Dr.Raja Sir Muthaiah (Chettiar) told me, "There are only two old books available about that, one volume with grey wrapper and the other with pink wrapper". He said this with his own inimitable style and added, "We must be very thankful for the author of those two books, Diwan Bhahadur T.Varadarajulu (Naidu), father of Mayor T.Sundararao (Naidu)".

Another book which gives some picture of the then prevailing situation is the 'Mirror of the Year', a collection of the editorials written in the "Justice", English daily, by Sir A.Ramasami (Mudaliar); we brought a new edition during the centenary of Arcot twins..

The Dravidar Kazhagam thought about the reprint of the rare book as a new fitting legacy for the present and future generations and research scholars.

During the Centenary Celebration of Mayor T.Sundara Rao (Naidu), I announced that the Dravidar Kazhagam would definitely bring out a new edition of the two rare books on the Justice Movement written by late lamented T.Varadarajalu (Naidu).

The Celebrations of the 75th year of the Justice Movement will witness the new editions of those two monumental works by the celebrated author.

Otherwise the great Social Justice Movement would have been tarnished by the vested interests bent upon preserving their distortions.

There is a premeditated and concerted move to twist and distort the facts and rewrite the history to suit their attitudes and aspirations;

These two works would definitely be one of the leading light houses for those who want to see the shore of the truth amidst turbulent waves of canards.

This book gives a vivid picture of the achievements of the Justice Movement.

All those who decry the Justice Party as though it is a stooge of the British who wanted to perpetuate the British rule for ever and it is a movement running after some "Jobbery" for nonbrahmins are people who talk through their hats without any deep knowledge of the movement.

This book provides a classical answer to those critics.

It is our proud privilege and honour in bringing out this book at this great moment, this year being a Social Justice Year.

MADRAS
1.4.1991

K.VEERAMANI
General Secretary.
Dravidar Kazhagam.

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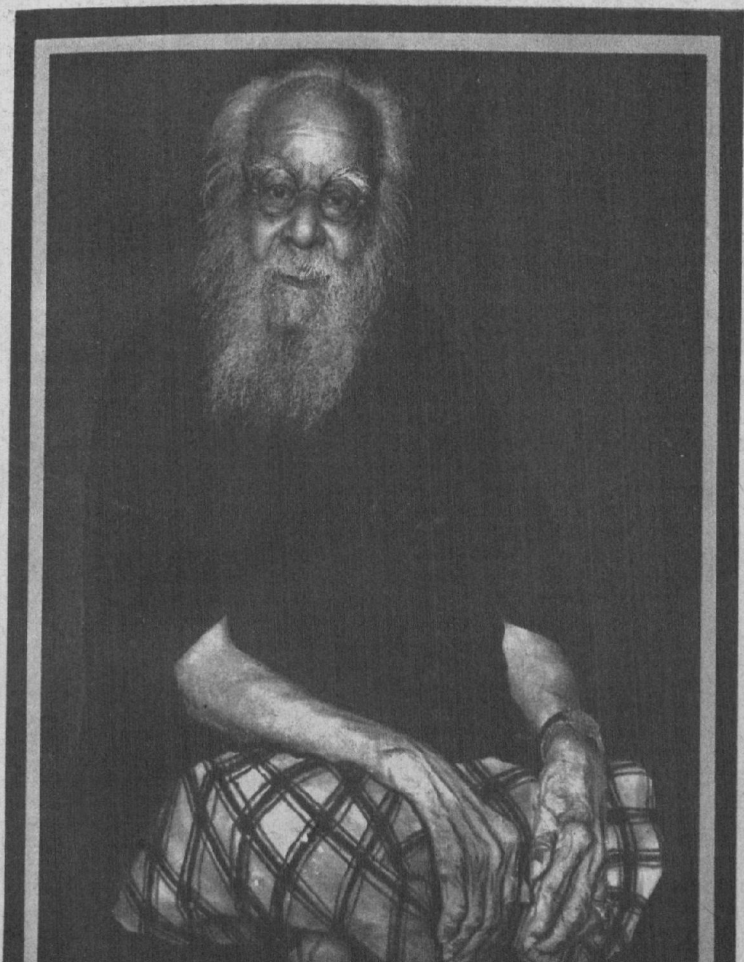
SECTION I.



SIR P. THEAGAROYA CHETTIAR



DR.C.NATESANAR
1875 - 18.2.1933



THANTHAI PERIYAR E.V.RAMASAMY
17.9.1879 - 24.12.1973



RAVU SWETACHALAPATHI RAMAKRISHNA RANGA RAO
(RAJA OF BOBBLI)



S.MUTHIAH MUDALIYAR



A.T.PANNEERSELVAM BAR-AT-LAW
1.6.1888 - 1.3.1940



W.P.A. SOUNDARAPANDIYAN
15.9.1893 - 22.2.1953

The Non-Brahmin Manifesto

(DECEMBER 1916)

At a Conference held in Madras on the 20th November 1916 and attended by several non-Brahmin gentlemen of position and influence both in Madras and in the muffasal, it was resolved that measures be taken to start a company for publishing a newspaper advocating the cause of the non-Brahmin community, and also that a political association be formed to advance, safeguard and protect the interests of the same community. In accordance with this, a Joint-Stock Company has been started under the name of "South Indian People's Association" for conducting a daily newspaper in English, Tamil and Telugu, respectively, and also a Political Association has been formed under the name of "The South Indian Liberal Federation".

The South Indian People's Association has issued the following Manifesto addressed to non-Brahmin gentlemen throughout the presidency under the signature of its Secretary, Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chettiar.

Manifesto

The time has come when an attempt should be made to define the attitude of the several important non-Brahmin Indian communities in this presidency towards what is called "the Indian Home Rule Movement," and also to indicate certain facts with respect to their present political position. Not less than 40 out of 41½ millions, who form the population of this presidency, are non-Brahmins, and the bulk of the tax payers, including a large majority of the zamindars, landholders and agriculturists, also belong to the same class. But in what passes for politics in Madras they have not taken the part to which they are entitled. They make little or no use of their influence among the masses for the general political advancement of the country. In these days of organised effort, they maintain no proper organisations for protecting and promoting their common interests and for preventing professional and other politicians, with hardly any corresponding stake in the country, from posing as their accredited spokesmen. Nor have they a press of their own to speak the truth on their behalf. Their political interests, therefore, (as compared with those of the Brahmins who number only about a million and a half), have materially suffered.

F I

PUBLIC SERVICES

The Hon. Sir. Alexander (then Mr.) Cardew, now a Member of the Madras Executive Council, in his evidence before the Public Service Commission in 1913, described in detail, the relative positions of the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins in the Public Service of this province, not certainly as a champion of non-Brahmin interest, but with a view to show that if simultaneous examinations in England and India for admission into the Indian Civil Service were introduced, the Brahmins, whom he chracterised as "a small rigidly exclusive caste," would swamp that Service. He is reported to have stated that in the competitive examinations for the Provincial Civil Service, which were held between 1892 and 1904, out of sixteen successful candidates fifteen were Brahmins, giving a ratio of 95 per cent. of Brahmin success. In the Mysore State, where open competitive examinations for the Mysore Civil Service were held during the preceding 20 years, Brahmins secured 85 per cent. of the vacancies. In the competition for the appointment of Assisiant Engineers in Madras, the number of successful candidates, during the same period, was 17 Brahmins and four non-Brahmins. Similar results were produced by the competitive examination for the Accounts Departments. Out of 140 Deputy Collectors in Madras at the time, 77 were Brahmins, 30 non-Brahmin Hindus, and the rest Muhammadans, Indian Christians, Europeans and Anglo Indians. It is curious to note that even where competitive examinations did not exist, as for instance in the Subordinate Judicial Service of the presidency, the major portion of the appointments was in the hands of the Brahmins. Sir Alexander Cardew stated that out of 128 permanent District Munsiffs in 1913, 93 were Brahmins, 25 non-Brahmin Hindus and the rest Muhammdans, Indian Christians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians. From these and other figures of a like nature, he naturally concluded that an open competition for the Civil Service in India would mean an almost complete monopoly of the service by the Brahmin caste and the practical exclusion from it of the non Brahmana classes. Of course, he did not invite the attention of the Public Service Commission to what prevailed in the important Native States, directly under the control of the Madras Government, where, too, the preponderance of Brahmins in the Government Service then, as now, was not less marked. Nor did he go into the figures relating to the subordinate services, which are recruited under a system almost wholly of patronage. Surely, in these services the preponderance of Brahmins would be still more striking.

With regard to what obtains at the present moment in the various branches of the Government Service, it is needless to go into the figures. But we cannot help calling attention to the highest appointments open to the Indian in this presidency, and the principle upon which they are distributed. Since the Executive Council of H. E. the Governor has been opened to Indians, three Indian gentlemen have been admitted into it in succession, the two latter being Brahmin lawyers Of the five Indian Judges of the High Court, four of them, i. e., all the Hindu Judges are Brahmins. In 1914 a new Secretaryship to Government was created, and a Brahmin official was forthwith appointed to it. The Indian Secretary to the Board of Revenue is a Brahmin; and of the two Collectorships open to the members of the Provincial Civil Service, that, which has fallen to the share of communities other than the Muhammadan, has nearly always gone to a Brahmin official.

PUBLIC BODIES

What is true of Government Service is equally true of local and other public bodies. Where an electorate is composed of a large number of Brahmins, the non-Brahmin Indian has hardly a chance It nearly always happens that while the non-Brahmins do not concentrate upon a single candidate, Brahmin or non-Brahmin, the Brahmins nearly always unite and support their caste man. The Madras University, of which the majority of Indian Fellows, classified under the several Indian groups, are Brahmins, has never returned a non-Brahmin Indian to the local Legislative Council, so much so that no non-Brahmin Indian, however well qualified otherwise, indulges the hope of getting elected as member for the University in the Legislative Council, unless it be with the support of the European Fellows. At a meeting of the Madras Legislative Council, held in November, 1914, in reply to an interpellation by the late Mr. Kunhi Raman Nayar, it was stated that the total number of registered graduates of the University was 650, of whom 452 were Brahmins, 12; non-Brahmin Hindus and 74 belonged to other communities, and that since 1907, when election of Fellows by registered graduates began, 12 Fellows were elected, of whom with one exception all were Brahmins. We are not aware that neither before 1907, when a sort of election of a few Fellows by graduates of a certain number of years' standing was allowed, nor since 1914, when the statement referred to was made in the Legislative Council, the graduates of the Madras

University, of whom the majority have always been Brahmins, elected a non-Brahmin, as a Fellow of the University, so that the non-Brahmin, however distinguished, has little or no chance of getting into the Senate of the Madras University through what is called the open door of election. In the election to the Imperial and local Legislative Councils and to municipal bodies one finds the same truth illustrated so far as these elections could be controlled by the "rigidly exclusive caste" If, occasionally, a fair-minded ruler endeavours to correct the inequality arising from the preponderence of Brahmins on any pnblic body by having recourse to nominations of individuals from comparatively unrepresented interests, he is severely crlticised in the Brahmin press. How His Excellency Lord Pentland was dealt with by some of the papers in connection with the recent nominations to his Legislative Council may be cited as the latest example of this kind of hostile and unfair criticism. Outside these responsible bodies more or less under the control of the Government, even in the case of existing political organisations in the city of Madras as well as in the Districts, the figures regarding election, if gone into, will tell the same tale. To quote one of the latest instances, of the 15 gentlemen elected from this presidency to represent it on the All-India Congress Committee, with the exception of one solitary non-Brahmin Indian, all are practlcally Brahmins, and yet the decision of this Committee, which is the Executive of the Congress, upon matters of grave import, such as the revision of the Indian Constitution after the war, will be held up to the world's admiring gaze as the considered opinion, among others, of the 40 millions of non-Brahmins of this large and important province. It is our unfortunate experience also that as concessions and rights are more freely bestowed, the rigidly exclusive caste grows stlll more rigid and excluslve.

NON-BRAHMINS AND EDUCATION

In defence of all this practical monopoly of political power and high government appointments which make for that power, it is pointed out that though the Brahmins are only a small fraction of the population of this presidency, they are far ahead of other communities in regard to university qualification. No one denies this. Old establisbed traditions, the position of the Brahmins as the highest and the most sacred of the Hindu castes, the nature of their ancient calling, and the steady inculcation of the belief, both by written texts and oral teaching, that they are so many

divinely-ordained intermediaries without whose active intervention and blessing the soul cannot obtain salvation, and their consequent freedom from manual toil—all these helped them to adapt themselves easily to the new conditions under British Rule, as under previous epochs, in larger numbers and far more successfully than the other castes and communities. Apart, however, from the question of English education, are large material stakes, traditional and inherited interests in the soil and the social prestige that goes with it, influence among the masses, quiet and peaceful occupations that tend to the steady economic development of the province, and overwhelming numerical strength itself, to count for nothing? Should not the classes and communities that, from time immemorial, have stood for these, receive encouragement from the Government? In the matter of education itself, the advantage is not all on the side of the Brahmin castes. Though rather late in the field, the non-Brahmin communities have begun to move. They now represent various stages of progress. Some of them, such as the Chetti, the Komati, the Mudaliar, the Naidu and the Nayar, have been making rapid progress; and even the least advanced, like those who are ahead of them, are manfully exerting themselves to come up to the standards of the new time The spirit of educational progress is abroad, and it is a significant circumstance that among some of the non-Brahmin communities the development is more harmonious and less one-sided than among the Brahmins In spite of the singular solicitude, which, for reasons not apparent, the Department of Education has been showing for the education of Brahmin girls and especially of Brahmin widows, as if the Brahmins were a backward class, the percentage of literates among the women of such non-Brahmin communities as the Nayars is higher than among the Brahmins. In a variety of ways and in different walks of life, non-Brahmins will now be found unostentatiously, and yet effectively, contributing to the moral and material progress of this presidency. But these and their brethren have so far been groping helpless in the background, because of the subtle and manifold ways in which political power and official influences are often exercised by the Brahmin caste.

WANT OF ORGANIZATION

We do not deny that in these days of fierce intellectual competition the skill to pass examinations is a valuable personal possession. But it passes our understanding why a small class, which shows a larger percentage of English knowing men than their neighbours, should be allowed

almost to absorb all the government appointments, great and small, high and low, to the exclusion of the latter, among whom may also be found, though in small proportions, men of capacity, enlightenment and culture. The fact cannot be gainsaid that, in spite of the numerous obstacles in their path, as executive and judicial officers, as educationists, lawyers, medical men, engineers, public men and as successful administrators of large and important estates, the non-Brahmin communities have produced men of distiguished attainments and unquestioned eminence, some of whom have found no equals in the Braamin caste. Guided by their own sense of self-respect and enlightened self-interest, had they and their communities always acted in cencert, even in the matter of government appointments and political power, they would have been at the top, a place which is theirs by right. As it is, for want of efficient separate organisations of their own and of the instinct or the inclination to make the freest and the most effective use of the modern weapon of publicity, their interests have not received their proper share of attention and recognition.

PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT WANTED AND NOT UNAUTHORIZED CONSTITUTION—MAKING

Not satisfied with the possession of the key to the present political position, the radical politicians of this presidency, who are apparently never so happy as when they ask for fresh political concessions, irrespective of their suitability to the existing conditions, now ask for Home Rule; and from previous experience, we fear that, if a discordant note is not sounded at the proper time, it will, of course, be made out that all India is keen about Home Rule. It is not necessary for our purpose to go into the details of this extravagant scheme, or into those of the other submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy by nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council. We are not in favour of any measure, which, in operation, is designed, or tends completely, to undermine the influence and authority of the British Rulers, who alone, in the present circumstances of India, are able to hold the scales even between creed and class, and to develop that sense of unity and national solidarity, without which India will continue to be a congeries of mutually exclusive and warring groups, without a common purpose and a common patriotism. While we dissociate ourselves entirely from unauthorised Indian Constitution-making, which seems to be a favourite occupa-

tion with a certain class of politicians, we must say that we are strongly in favour of progressive political development of a well-defined policy of trust in the people, qualified by prudence, and of timely and liberal concessions in the wake of proved fitness. In the early days of the Indian National Congress, when that movement was directed and controlled on the spot by such sagacious and thoughtful men as the late Messrs. A. O. Hume, W. C. Bonnerjee, Budruddin Tyabji. S. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Rangiah Naidu, Rao Bahadur Sabhapathi Mudaliar and Sir Sankaran Nair, enlightened non-Brahmins all over the presidency gave it their hearty and loyal support. It was then, though not in form and name, but in spirit and method, a truly national institution. Some of the old ideals are still there. But the spirit in which, the method by which, and the persons by whom, it is at present worked, cannot, all of them, commend themselves to the thinking and self-respecting section of the non-Brahmin public of this presidency. The social reactionary and the impatient political idealist, who seldom has his foot on solid earth, have now taken almost complete possession of the Congress. Democratic in aims, an irresponsibie bureaucracy now manipulates its wires We sincerely hope that sane and sober politicians, who know the country and its people, and who feel their responsibility to both, will soon reassert their mastery over the Congress machine, and direct it in strict accordance with the living realities of the present.

NO CASTE RULE

For our part, we deprecate, as we have suggested, the introduction of changes not warranted by the present conditions. We cannot too strongly condemn caste or class rule. We are of those who think that in the truest and best interest of India, its Government should continue to be conducted on true British principles of justice and equality of opportunity. We are deeply devoted and loyally attached to British rule. For that rule, in spite of its many shortcomings and occasional aberrations, is, in the main, just and sympathetic. We, indeed, hope that our rulers will, as their knowledge of the country expands, be more readily responsive to public feeling, when, of course, that feeling is clearly manifest and decidedly unambiguous, and that before they take any action they will examine the interests and wishes of each caste, class and community with more anxious care than heretofore and in a less conventional manner. When the spirit of social exclusiveness and the

rigidity of class and caste begin to disappear, the progress towards Self-Government will unquestionably be more satisfactory. But, for the present, the practical politician has to concern himself with what lies immediately in front of him.

SELF-GOVERNMENT BASED ON EQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF POWER

After the triumphant conclusion of the war, the Indian Constitution will doubtless come before the British statesmen and British Parliament for revision. India has earned the right to demand that the basis of her constitution should be broadened and deepened, that her sons, representing every class, caste and community, according to their acknowledged position in the country and their respective numerical strength, should be given a more effective voice in the management of her affairs, that she should be given fiscal freedom and legislaiive autonomy in matters affecting her domestic policy and economic position, and that, lastly, she must be accorded a place in the Empire conducive to the sense of self respect of her children as British subjects and not inferior in dignity and power to that occupied by any self-governing colony.

THE IMMEDIATE DUTY OF NON-BRAHMINS

We appeal to the enlightened members of the non-Brahmin communities to be up and doing. Their future lies in their own hands. Great and pressing is the task with which they are confronted. They have, in the first place, to educate their boys and girls in far larger numbers than they have yet done. Associations under the responsible guidance of leading non-Brahmin gentlemen should be started and maintained in a state of efficiency, in every populous centre, not merely to induce the various non Brahmin communities to avail themselves more freely of the existing facilities for education, and to create such facilities where they do not exist, but also to find adequate funds for the education of such of their poor but intelligent boys and girls as cannot obtain instruction without extraneous pecuniary help. Indeed, a more vigorous educational policy for the non-Brahmins has long been over-due. Side by side with the starting of associations for the advancement of the education of the non-Brahmin classes, must also be maintained, social and political organisations, and, where they are needed, well conducted newspapers of their own, both in the vernaculars and in English, to push forward their claims.

By their attitude of silence and inaction they have failed to make their voices heard and others more astute than they have used them for their own ends, with the result that there is a great deal of discontent among the non-Brahmins about their present lot as compared with that of their Brahmin fellow countrymen, of which, perhaps, the Government is not fully aware. The discontent is growing every day, and the attention of the Government will be drawn to it. But the non-Brahmins must first help themselves. Let them do everything needful to ensure a continued educational, social, political and economical development on a broad and enduring basis; and, then, their future as British subjects will be brighter and more prosperous than it is to-day, What is designated as "Nation building" is a laborious task, involving, and indeed necessitating, in the slow process of evolution, the due performance, in the proper time by each class and community, of the duty it owes to itself, first and foremost. It is our firm conviction that in India, for sometime to come at any rate, every community has primarily to put its own house in order, so that, when it has to co-operate with other communities, possibly with higher social pretentions, it may do so, not as a dependent and helpless unit to be made a figure head or cats-paw of, but as a self-respecting and highly developed social organisation, offering its willing co-operation for the promotion of common objects on terms of perfect equality.

P. THEAGARAYA CHETTY.

Lecture by Dr. T. M. Nair

ON

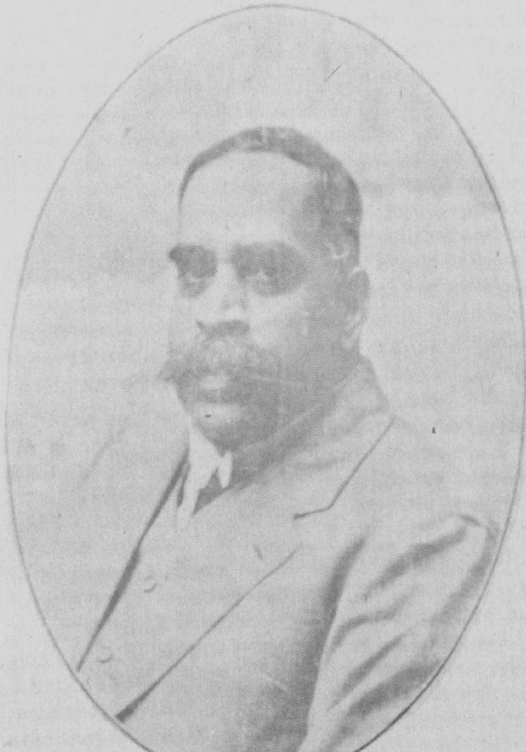
Our Immediate Political Outlook.

(14th March, 1917)

Dr T. M Nair delivered his lecture on "Our Immediate Political Outlook" before a crowded gathering in the Victoria Public Hall on Wednesday, the 14th March, 1917, under the auspices of the Muthialpet Muslim Anjuman. There were many prominent people present on the occasion and several gentlemen from the mofussil had come specially to attend the meeting. The Honourable Mr Ahmed Thambi Marakayar was voted to the chair, on the motion of Mr. Muhammad Usman, Secretary of the Anjuman.

Dr. T. M. Nair's Speech

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—My first duty on this occasion is to apologise to you for the disappointment which I caused on the 29th of January last. I would have left it at that, had it not been for the fact that, a few days after my recovery from illness, a very respectable Mahomedan gentleman came to me and asked me whether I was really ill on the 29th. This led me to make a little investigation as to why he asked me that question, and I found out that I have been accused of malingering, in order to escape appearing on this platform on the 29th January And as for the reason why I malingered, there were several versions given out. I may not have heard all the reasons yet. Some I did. The first reason was that I was afraid of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who was speaking in this hall the next day. Gentlemen, I know Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. At least I used to know him in olden days. I have been amused at him, but it never entered my mind to be afraid of him. If I had no reason to be afraid of him then, I have still less reason to be afraid of him now. I dare say that the Pandit would have blamed me for the so-called sectarian movement with which I was connected, but I did not know that Pandit Malaviya could find fault with sectarian movements. If he did so, it would be very much like Satan rebuking sin. As the leader of the biggest sectarian move-



DR. T. M. NAIR

ment in India he could not very well have attacked me; at all events, I see no reason to be afraid of that. Then I was told that the rumour was current that the Government had stopped me. This is an extraordinary thing, because there is no reason why Government should stop my meeting. I am not a German agent. (Laughter.) I never received money from any German. I have tipped many a German waiter in London in the old days. Then my money passed into German hands. So Government had no reason whatever to stop my meeting. Well, I won't try to follow the other reasons given, but I may assure you that I would have been here, willing to discharge my duty on the 29th, if I had not been in a helpless condition and two doctors asked me not to get up from my bed at all. Gentlemen, these and many other things make me feel to-night standing here exactly like a man who has won an obstacle race. You know the feeling when you have won an obstacle race. I never knew before that it was such a difficult thing to get a meeting and address an audience. It never was so in olden times. My friends used to come and say there was such and such an obstacle in the way of your meeting. I used to say then 'drop the meeting.' My friends were persistent till at last I am here. But my Chairman here to-night, I think has also met with obstacles. I am told that he escaped being elected as Chairman of the Negapatam Municipality, because in an unfortunate moment he consented to preside at my meeting. Gentlemen, I am very sorry for that. I don't like the idea of bringing misfortune on my friends and I hope that Mr. Ahmed Thambi Marakayar will bear up with that and survive. I myself have survived. I have been told that hundreds of cocoanuts have been broken in temples in order that I may not recover from my illness (Laughter.) I don't mind that. I heard sometime ago that in my native district of Malabar they could not get a market for cocoanuts. If in this way they can find a small market in Madras, I am glad I have been of some service to my native district

OUR IMMEDIATE PAST

Well, Gentlemen, now that you are met here, let us have our say. The subject is "Our Immediate Political Outlook." If you want to discuss the question of our immediate political outlook, you must study a little of your immediate past. What has been our political condition in the past? Perhaps some of you, young men, might not have followed very closely the course of politics in the past. But a good many of you will remember that our political condition in the past

was this: that we, people of India, were always asking for the advancement of our political condition, and the British Government, listening to our demands, used periodically to give us political concessions. This country came directly under the British Crown in 1858. So far as the Government of India is concerned, from 1861 onwards, there have been a series of Acts governing the Government of India, which culminated in the Legislation of 1909. Also, very soon after this country passed directly under the British Crown, they also introduced a system of Local Self-Government in India, which also they have been periodically revising and improving at each revision. Therefore, our past condition was this. We were demanding political concessions and the Government from time to time were granting us political concessions. I don't for a moment say that the concessions have always been all that we asked for. It can never be in any country. The people will always ask for a little more than the Government are willing to give. But once it is assured that you will go on steadily progressing and your political condition is on the onward march, always improving, never receding, it is a source of satisfaction. Till very recently we were all satisfied with that state of affairs. I remember that the concessions granted in 1909, commonly known as Minto-Morley Reforms, were hailed with delight in this country. I was myself present in this country. I was myself present in this hall at a meeting where Lords Minto and Morley were thanked for this reform. Several of my political colleagues in Madras were present and they also addressed that meeting. Of course, a good many said it was not all that they wanted. Well, I was one of those who said so myself, but we all accepted it as an instalment, and made up our minds to wait for the next instalment, to continuously ask for more, and receive what was given at the next instalment. But, within the last two years, a very sudden change has come in the political condition of India, and, before we proceed further, we must analyse and get to the bottom of this new political movement and find out the causes that brought it about, the circumstances that justify it, and its chances of success? You must analyse this and get a satisfactory reply, before you come to the subject proper. Because, if you can show that the latest political movement, rather a violent one in my opinion, has the ghost of a chance of being accepted by the British public, then that is our immediate political outlook. I am here to prove to you that it has not got the ghost of a chance, and, therefore, you must think of something else as your immediate political outlook.

HOME RULE FOR IRELAND

Gentlemen, I am perfectly familiar with the cry of Home Rule, because my student days in Great Britain coincided with the time when the most acute controversy was going on regarding the Home Rule movement in Ireland. For five or six years I was in the arena of politics, where we heard nothing but Home Rule. Everywhere it was Home Rule. In any political meeting, whatever other subjects were discussed, Home Rule for Ireland was invariably there, I am, therefore, perfectly familiar with a cry of Home Rule as it existed in England. But when I heard the same cry in India, I could not, in the beginning, realise that it was an earnest cry, because nobody, who knew the conditions under which Home Rule could be granted, the conditions under which there was a chance of its being granted, would ever have thought of raising a cry for Home Rule in India. The conditions even in Ireland were not ideal for Home Rule, but then you must remember that the Irish agitation was only for the re-establishment of a Parliament, which they had for a long time. The Irish had a Parliament of their own and it was the Act of Union in 1800 that took away that Parliament, and ever since the Act of Union the Irish public have never been quiet. In some form or other they have been agitating for the repeal of the Act of Union. It is true that in the earlier part of the century, it did not actually take the form of Home Rule Movement. They formally constituted the Home Rule Movement only in the latter part of the 19th century. Their agitation for catholic emancipation and various other cries were practically cries for Home Rule, which, in their case, meant the return of the Parliament that had been taken away from them.

CONDITIONS IN INDIA

In the case of India, the question is far different. We have never had a Parliament here and I do not know whether we have ever had Self-Government in the proper sense of the term I know it is a fashion now a days to go back to the ancient Hindu Kings and to describe all the wonderful things that we had and compare them to the miserable state of things in this 20th century, and we are some times told that Self-Government in a most perfect form existed in ancient India and, therefore, we are now asking for what we had. As far as I can make out, the only Self-Government they had in ancient India was a system of village panchayats, panchayats for isolated villages. A federation of these village panchayats in its large sense

never took place, because there was no proper communication between village and village in those days, and each village was self-contained. Nothing higher than that in the way of Self-Government I have seen mentioned anywhere in any authoritative works recorded as having existed in ancient India. Now, for argument's sake, let me concede for one moment that you had Self-Government in ancient India. Your ancestors are so far removed from you at the present day that you have nothing to show of any inherited capacity for Self-Government. If you had any inherited capacity for Self-Government from your distant ancestors, your Municipalities would have been better managed. It would never have taken such a long time for you to get in the way of managing even small Municipalities. Therefore, I disregard that argument altogether. In India, for all practical purposes, if we must have Self-Government, we must be trained for it. We must acquire the capacity, develop our qualities in that respect and then start on Self-Government. In the second place, Home Rule can only be given to a country where there is only one nation, absolutely united, with no sectional differences. That lesson you are learning now from Irish Home Rule. With all things that favoured the granting of Home Rule to a nation who once had their own Parliament, with all the advantages, they are still far from having Home Rule. Why? Because there are certain counties, which are inhabited by Protestants, and the rest of Ireland are Catholics. Mind you, gentlemen, on that one point of difference, Ireland has not got Home Rule, and from all that you can see from the discussion in the House of Commons on Home Rule, I do not think Ireland will get Home Rule in the sense of Catholic Ireland being able to rule over Protestant Ulster. So, that is another condition, which is absolutely essential for Home Rule, which does not exist here The third condition for Home Rule is that the people of the country must be sufficiently advanced in education and intelligence to exercise their franchise intelligently. Now, we know that an overwhelming majority of the people of this country are not so advanced, and, therefore, nobody, who understood the conditions necessary for granting Home Rule, would seriously have proposed Home Rule for India.

MRS. BESANT'S VOLTE FACE

Then, it was still more surprising that the first move in this direction was made by an English lady, I do not know whether she is English or Irish, but she has had considerable experience of English political life in her younger days,

and is thoroughly conversant with political matters and, therefore, could not possibly have put forward a proposal of Home Rule for India in a state of ignorance. We have on paper a record of what her opinions were on the question of India demanding Self-Government I will only trouble you with one or two extracts. In a speech, which she delivered in 1905, she said:—"Geography has a determining influence on nationality. No two nations can exist in the same soil. A nation must have a national territory and we cannot have a Hindu nation and a Musalman nation in India. We must have one Indian nation from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin, from Bengal to Kathiawar. No such nation has ever existed in India. India has always been and still is a mere geographical expression." No sane man or woman for that matter would propose to grant Home Rule to a geographical expression. (Applause.) Now, passing from 1905 and coming to 1911, the lady says again, "English Rule is just; let the Indian citizen first learn to stand and walk before he asks to Rule and Govern." No truer words were ever spoken. Gentlemen, it has a bearing on the granting of Self-Government to our country. And, as late as 1911, this lady held exceedingly correct views of what are the conditions precedent to granting Home Rule. In 1915, only four years after she delivered the last quotation which I have read out to you, she comes out as leader of the Home Rule Movement.

EVOLUTION OF HOME RULE MOVEMENT

I have taken some trouble to follow closely the conditions under which this Home Rule Movement has developed. Here we are in a country with a large number of politicians, with a political organisation, called the Indian National Congress, to which all the leading men in the country are attached. How did it come about that this lady in such a short time snatched the political initiative from the hands of the Congress, spread a propaganda of her own, captured a good many in the Congress and now began to lead them instead of following them? How did it come about? The evolution of the Home Rule idea in Madras is unfolded in the pages of "New India." And if any one will take the trouble of going back and reading the articles connected with this movement, it will repay the industry. The Home Rule Movement first originated with the attempt to bring about the Congress compromise. You remember that at Surath, in 1907, after a pugilistic encounter between various sections of the delegates, the Congress spilt up into two sections, which I believe were called extremists and moderates. I believe

these were the terms used. And the attempt of 1914 was really to bring about a re-union between extremists and moderates, at all events so it appears to be on the surface. Then this attempt failed, and on the rejection of the compromise proposal, we find in "New India" a threat that, if the Congress still remained in a condition of masterly inactivity, then it will be well for younger people to take action, not in opposition to the Congress, which must always be regarded as the head of political activities in India, but as supplementing its work in a field which it does not wish to occupy at present. In other words, "If the Congress will not take up Home Rule, I shall." That was practically the meaning of it. Then came a series of articles in "New India" on the resurrection of Asia, and it claimed that India should be given Home Rule as a sort of defensive measure against the advance of China. If China becomes a great nation, she may attack India, and India, in order to defend herself, ought to be given Home Rule and made to stand on her own legs. That was the argument put forward. Then there was a distinct warning in the ' New India" of the 3rd August, 1915, that the people should agitate for Self-Government and should fight for freedom, and it exclaimed "Who will join hands with us." That is the call for recruits. Then came an article on the 17th of August, in which she argued that in the reconstruction of the Empire lay the opportunity of India for freedom. The genesis of the thing was the declaration of war, and the whole thing originated several months after England had declared war against Germany and was likely to be pre-occupied in several directions; and here is the distinct statement, that the opportunity for India is the reconstruction of the Empire which will follow the war. But whoever said that there will be a reconstruction of the Empire. Whoever said that any remodification of Indian conditions would ever be made. I have never seen any responsible man say that. Then, on the 7th September, "New India" announced that Mrs. Beasant had gone to Bombay to see Sir Pherozeshah Mehta with a view to consulting him regarding the political situation in India. In other words, to sound Sir Pherozeshah Metha as to the Home Rule propaganda. That is what I infer. On September 13th, a representative of the Associated Press of Bombay had a talk with her on Indian Self-Government. She said that the country must be stirred in the matter, that the Congress should lead in the matter and, if the Congress did not, she should take up the question herself. She continued to say that, after the Congress had

formulated a scheme for Self-Government, which she called Home Rule for India, the English people being more familiar with Home Rule, and perhaps "more opposed too" the country would be stirred on that behalf. Then, on the 15th of September, Mrs. Besant wrote on Congress and Self-Government and wanted Sir S. P. Sinha to claim Swaraj. She attacked Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, evidently the interview was not satisfactory, and said that he had so long dominated Bombay that it was doubtful if any one else had the courage to lead as well and could be depended upon. A sick man could not be vigorous nor inclined to sketch a vigorous policy for his followers. Bombay had given no sign of preparing the way for Home Rule. Then, on September 25th, the Home Rule League was born in Madras. Mr. Dadhabhoy Naoroji was said to be the President, but he promptly contradicted it, and since then the Home Rule Movement had gone on. In 1915 the attempt was made to capture the Congress for the Home Rule Movement. Thanks to the firmness and sagacity of Sir S. P. Sinha, than whom a more level-headed politician we had not in India, that attempt failed. It was postponed to the following Congress. I have no authoritative version of what took place in the following Congress, and, therefore, I shall not venture to speak upon it. It is for the Congress politicians to say, as distinctly and emphatically as they can, whether they are for Home Rule as sketched by Mrs. Besant or whether they are not. I had tried to ascertain from one or two of my friends, but failed. They said Home Rule and Self-Government are just the same, but slightly different, and so on; but I could not get anything definite from them; therefore, it is for them to say whether they are Home Rulers or not. For us here it is quite sufficient to say that we are entirely against the movement started by Mrs. Besant for Home Rule (Applause), because we are not ready for it.

INDIA NOT RIPE YET FOR HOME RULE

I do not for one moment say that the time will not come when we shall have Home Rule. That time will come (Applause) Neither Mrs. Besant nor Mr. Ahmed Thambi Marakayar nor I will live to see it, because it will be long long after our time. There are so many conditions that you have to comply with before you can get it. If we get it before complying with those conditions, it will be ruinous to the country. Ireland was about to get Home Rule just before the war. The Home Rule Bill was going through the Houses. It passed through the House

of Commons. It was rejected twice by the House of Lords, and a third time, if rejected, they could declare that the bill was passed. What happened? Civil war was threatened. Many of the military men quartered in Ireland declined to fire on their countrymen. Therefore, the military was of no use. Ireland was on the brink of a civil war. When this war broke out, an amicable arrangement was arrived at to temporarily put the Home Rule Bill on the Statute Book and not to bring it in operation till the Houses had another chance of discussing it. Therefore, if you get Home Rule now, which is not feasible to-day, not essential to-day and not indispensable to-day, it will bring no final settlement with it. In a divided country like this, with several sections, under Home Rule you will get considerably less than what you will get under a Government like that of Great Britain, which has established and holds sway all over India.

EMPIRE RECONSTRUCTION

Gentlemen, there is one small subject I want to deal with before I proceed further. In this connection, they have calculated that there will be reconstruction in the Empire and that in that reconstruction India will also be included. It is the usual faith of the socialist that, if the existing arrangements are upset, in the resulting changes, instead of being at the bottom he may find himself on the top. Therefore, a good many people hanker for change; but a change from an established condition must be very gradual and very slow. You must consider each step in it; otherwise after the change you will find yourselves in a considerably worse position than you were in the beginning. There is to be reconstruction in England. There may be reconstruction in many of the colonies, because you have got very good reasons for it. What do you find in England at the present time as the result of the war? Most of the factories have been shut down or are given over to the Government for the manufacturing of munitions. Therefore, their industries are in a paralysed state. The men are all taken to the military, the machinery are all taken for the manufacturing of munitions; their production from an economic point of view is stopped and so their industries are paralysed. At the beginning of the war, England had a standing army of about 730,000 men. At present, they have five million men in the field in Flanders, and these men were raised by conscription, which means they have been asked to give up their private occupations and go and join the army and fight. Five million men and more have been taken away from ordinary occupation, and after two or three years, when they come back, they will have to be put on their legs again.

Now that means enormous work. We have not got either of these conditions in India. Condition No. 3—Their financial expenditure before the war is over will come to such a large sum that the annual expenditure for loan charges will come to £ 300,000,000. It is roughly calculated that £ 300,000,000 will go to the sinking fund and loan charges on the money that they have raised for this war. The normal revenue is about £100,000,000. They will have to raise three hundred million pounds extra annually to meet the loan charges. Where is this to be raised? That is exactly the reason why they will have to bring the colonies to bear the financial burden. No one will bear the burden unless you have privileges corresponding to that. We have not been asked to bear that burden. We will not be able to bear that burden. (A voice; We are giving a hundred millions.) A good many of the colonies have given a great deal more. It is only the annual charge that is £300,000,000. Therefore, they will want reconstruction from that point of view. Then they have found a good many defects exposed by the war, a good many defects in their system of education, in their organisation and other things. They will have to correct them, which means an enormous reconstruction. Then they have to consolidate the alliances already formed. There are so many nations, who have formed alliances, fighting with them. These are the men who help them in adversity. A friend in need is a friend indeed. If they are to continue their alliances, they will have to make some arrangements regarding tariffs and other things. India is not affected by any of these, and, therefore, why should we say that necessarily there will be a reconstruction for India as well? I decline to believe that we shall be affected by the reconstruction connected with the war, but that does not prevent us from asking for the next instalment of political reform. It does not by any means prevent us from asking for any political reform.

PRACTICAL REFORM

Well, in asking for political reform, there are one or two things to be borne in mind. One is that a reform, merely based on sentimental grounds and having no practical application, is no good. You must ask for something, which is practical, which anybody can put in practice. If you simply say on sentimental grounds you want such and such things, no value will be attached by any practical politician to it, and when your demand is taken to England and analysed, the politicians there will say, these are the people who say they are fit for Self-Government. But people,

who make demands like this, are not practical men. That is the danger which you must always apprehend. In putting forward your demands, try and see that they are practical.

MEMORANDUM OF THE NINETEEN

Now, leaving the subject of Home Rule, I come to the only practical proposals that I have heard for our next instalment of political reforms. You have heard of the memorandum of the nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council, which has been submitted to the Viceroy. I have been abused, attacked, rebuked for having ventured to express dissent from this document. I have now to justify my dissent. I dissent from this document, because, in my opinion, it is an impracticable and unworkable scheme. If you will permit me a few minutes, I will take proposal by proposal.

Executive Council

The first proposal is with regard to the Executive Council. They asked that the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of the Provincial Governors should contain a large proportion of Indians. That certainly is a reasonable proposal. They say that there ought to be at least half the number of Executive Councillors who are Indians, and I believe the idea is that the number of the Executive Councillors of the Provincial Governors should be raised to six, three Indians and three Europeans. That is a sound proposal and nobody will find fault with it. If they had stopped there, it would have been a practical suggestion, but they do not stop here. They say that elected representatives of the people should have a voice in the selection of the Executive Council. Now, that proposal will at once strike a practical politician as an impracticable one. The Governor-in-Council constituted the Government of this country. Let us take Madras, for example. Lord Pentland is the head of the Government of Madras. He has got three Councillors assisting him, but, for the work of the three Councillors and for any action of the Government of Madras, the man, who is responsible, is Lord Pentland. It is Lord Pentland's Government; and it is customary all over the world, where such a system of Government exists, that the head of the Government is to be permitted to choose his colleagues. It is so in every civilised country except one. I will come to that. In every civilised country it is the practice, because, if he does not choose his colleagues, you cannot hold him responsible for their actions. Lord Pentland might say any day—you elected my colleagues; I cannot get on with them; I am not responsible for their work

If he says so, what is your reply? There is no reply. And no man with self-respect would consent to be the Head of a Government where his colleagues are thrust upon him by somebody else. And if he has not got the power to select his own colleagues, and construct the Government with his own chosen colleagues, no respectable man will take it up. It is an absolutely impracticable proposal.

Then I told you there is one exception to this rule, and this is Switzerland. The Executive of the Federal Council in Switzerland is elected by the Federal Council But Switzerland is a unique country. Those of you, who have studied the Swiss Constitution, cannot help being struck with the unique idea of a people governing themselves directly. The Executive of the Swiss Federal Government is known as the Swiss Federal Council. It consists of seven members elected for a term of 3 years by the two Houses of the Federal Legislature, acting together in joint session as a Federal Assembly. The Federal Assembly may elect to the Council any swiss citizen who is eligible to either chamber. If a member of the Legislature is elected to a place on the Executive Body, it necessitates his resignation of the legislative function members of the Executive are not members of the Legislative Bodies. They may attend and take part in the debates, but they may not vote The members of the Swiss Executive are the servants of the Legislative Houses, not their leaders. The Swiss Federal Council Executive would be very much like the Municipal Commissioner under the new constitution of the Madras Corporation, not even so good. This gentleman at least has certain good powers of his own. These people have no power whatever except to obey what the people say. In any other country where Parliamentary Government goes on, the system of election would be impracticable and unworkable. I don't know why on earth a difference in that practice is asked for here.

I asked a friend of mine why they put forward such an absurd proposal. It vitiated the whole of the memorandum. He said Government sometimes put in useless men, and it was to prevent that. What are you doing in the council? Looking at a dummy, grinning at him? If you do your duty, no Government will dare bring in a dummy. They have to face questions in council. Ask a dummy a few questions and he would run away for all he is worth. If the non-official Council Members do their duty properly, no dummy will be able to face them. The fact of the matter is non-official

members want to vote themselves into the Executive Councils. Well, Gentlemen, if that proposal goes, it does not require a very great politician to find out that the men who drafted the memorandum know nothing of practical politics.

Majority of Elected Members and Budget

These minor defects are nothing compared to the defect that comes next. They say that all the Legislative Councils in India should have a substantial majority of elected representatives. Read that in conjunction with the other condition that the Budget should be passed in the shape of money bills, fiscal autonomy being conceded to India. Take the two conditions. There ought to be a majority of elected members in the Madras Legislative Council. The Budget ought to be passed through this Council, in the shape of money bills. A bill has several stages to go through a Council. For a resolution there is only one division sometimes they will have a snatch division. But a bill has got an obstacle race to go through, and all the financial proposals must go in the shape of money bills. Every one, who knows practical politics, knows that, unless a bill has got a majority at its back, it can never get through the house. It cannot be got through by accident. Unless a majority of the members of a particular council are in favour of a particular bill, that bill can never get through that Council. Assuming that a majority of these elected men are bent upon economy, or some of them are determined to stand against the Government, how will the Budget ever get through. The Budget may be defeated at any stage. Any bills can be smashed at any stage. The Government cannot get a Budget through. If you do not get the Budget through, you cannot get a pie of taxation Supposing such a contingency occurs, what would happen under the proposal? I can tell you what would happen in other places. In the English House of Commons the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduces the Budget, and if any item is vetoed, the Government resigns as a body, and another body comes in and forms a Government. Any defeat on the Budget is a necessary condition for the resignation of the Ministry. That is what happens in England, France and other countries. In Switzerland, where there is an Executive, who, as I told you, are practically the servants of the Council, the Council will do what the Parliament likes. Lord Pentland proposes a Budget; if it is not accepted, he cannot carry on the administration. You cannot expect him

to resign, because resignation of the Ministry is only practical where there is another body to form a Ministry. You cannot expect Lord Pentland to resign and go away. You cannot take charge of the Government. You are not asking for that. You are not advanced so far. You can ask for that, if you have put the proposal in a different way—that the Governor or Viceroy does not enter the Ministry at all, but sits on high and watches. The Executive Government is constituted from among the leading men here and he asks one man to form a Ministry. Such a Ministry, if defeated, can resign and the Governor can call another man to form a Ministry. This is Colonial Self-Government. Those gentlemen, who drafted this memorandum, were asking for Home Rule. They made a slight alteration so far as the Viceroy was concerned, at the same time the other conditions they did not alter. Therefore, we have got a mongrel, which will never work I should like any of these nineteen members or their admirers to put forward a method by which you can get over this difficulty of Government and enable them to carry on the administration with a power to put the Budget through the Council.

Administrative Capacity of Indians

I see that these gentlemen, who drafted the memorandum, are carried away in their enthusiasm for the great capacity of the Indian for administration. They say that our short experience in this direction has shown that there are Indians like Sir S. P. Sinha, Sir Ali Iman, Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, Sir Shamsul Huda and Sir Sankaran Nair, who have maintained a high level of adminitrative ability in the discharge of their duties. They have, I see, omitted to mention the name of Sir Sivaswami Iyer, Mr. Chaubal and Sir Prabhasankar Pattani, particularly Sir Sivaswami Iyer, because he is the second Indian Member who has retired after completing his term as Executive Councillor, Sir Ali Iman being the first. Others have all occupied a short space of time or have only begun their career. Besides, this gentleman has made discoveries in adminis ratıve fields. He discovered that the addition of non-officials to the Sanitary Board would only add to its numerical strength. He might have made a similar discovery abou the Executive Council itsel'. Therefore, it is rather cruel to have omitted him. Moreover, they say it is well-known that the Native States have produced renowned administrators like Sir Salar Jung, Sir T. Madhava Rao, Sir Sashadri Iyer, Dewan Bahadur Raghunatha Rao, not to mention the present administrators of the various Native States. I am her

emphatically to say that we don't want the system and methods of administration in the Native States to be brough- into British India. Hear, Hear) Whatever your dis-advantages under British Government, the greatest enjoyment that you have under the British Government is the enjoy-ment of personal freedom. That is exactly what you have not in the Native States Included in the signatories of this memorandum is one gentleman, who could tell you how he was treated in a Native State, when he went there to deliver a series of lectures Evidently, that is why he demands that sort of Native States Government. Perhaps, if the British Government will treat him in the same manner, he would begin to admire the British Governm nt

FREEDOM IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Gentlemen, whenever any one comes and tells you that the system of Government in some other places is better than here, don't believe it. I have been a bit of a traveller in my life-time, and I have been in many countries and seen the conditions in these countries. I have never come across a country where there is so much freedom as in the British Empire. I have lived in Germany, France and Italy, all advanced European countries, but would you believe it that a German in Germany, a Frenchman in France, or an Italian in Italy, enjoys less personal freedom than you people enjoy here. There is an old story told as to how people are treated in Berlin. In cafes, something like D'Anglis, where you go and take refreshment, there are deectives overhearing the conversation of any one seated there. On one occasion there were two new Englishmen there. All at once one of them raised his voice a little and said ' I think that the Emperor is a bally fool." The moment he said it, the detective came up and arrested him. "Why do you arrest me?" he asked. He was told he had abused the Emperor. "I was not talking about your Emperor at all. We are talking about the Russian Emperor." "There is only one Emperor in the world that answers your description and that is the German Emperor" said the detective. Now, gentlemen, there is one more subject here, and I think I had better conclude with that.

IGNORANCE OF THE MASSES

The President of the last Congress, Mr. Ambika Charan Mazumdar, a very old friend of mine, said in his speech that it is not necessary that the masses of the people should be educated at all before we can have Self-Government

They would have a class of educated men at the top. They will carry on the Government and see to the interest of the people of this country and look after the interest of the masses as well as any foreigner. That is a statement which requires some consideration, because all demand for Self-Government at present is based on that. Everybody has to admit that the great mass of the people of the country have not sufficient education to understand the franchise.

TRANSFER OP POWER TO AN OLIGARCHY

Therefore, the granting of Self-Government simply would mean that you must leave the masses to be taken care of by the better classes of the people. There are dangers in it. Wherever this state of affairs has taken place, it was found, in course of time, that the upper classes, who were ready to receive Self-Government, crushed those below them and kept power in their own hands and stuck to it with a tenacity which was surprising. And when the people themselves became ready to take their share in the Government of the country, the people, who held power as trustees, declined to part with it. England is the only country where this transfer of the power from the aristocracy went on in a peaceful way. I mean by peaceful, without bloodshed. They have had political fights, but without bloodshed. England is the only country where the transfer of power took place peacefully. In France, you had the Revolution, but the best example of the latter is Germany. In Germany to-day, true democracy is not established. Power in Germany is in the hands of a small oligarchy. They control the Emperor and they control everything else. It is an oligarchy that has brought the world into this ruinous war. And German democracy, in order to come to their own, will have to ask the help of the allies after the war. This task of handing the power into the hands of one community in trust, in order that later on, when the others are ready, they may take it back, is beset with considerable difficulty. Wherever you can go on without this temporary handing over, go without it. In European countries, it was inevitable, because they had to go on somehow. Here it is not inevitable. Till the masses can be educated and brought up to a condition in which they can exercise the functions of Self-Government, we have very good persons to take care of them. What need is there to transfer from these trustees to other trustees powers, which will have later on to be transferred again. I do not think that any Indian will dispute that the British Government have proved

admirable trustees and representatives of the interest of the people. (Applause). If you say that the educated men in this country will be as good guardians of the uneducated, I have only to take a few instances and point out to you what has been done. I am speaking to members of a Mahomedan association.

May I point out to you what has been done in connection with the Public Service Commission in your name and interest. The evidence of a large number of educated people in this country before the Public Service Commission was in favour of what has been for a very long time called the Simultaneous Examination. That is an examination for the Indian Civil Service to be held in England and at the same time in India, for which candidates can appear either here or there, and those who pass in it will be tabulated in one list, but a large number of people found fault with it. They did not want it, because, they said, by this system of examination, a particular class only will get admission, and admission into the Government service is important for this one aspect—it has got political power, and unless political power is equally distributed, there is always danger. That has been the experience of countries where there are mixed populations. If you concentrate power in the hands of one community, there is always the danger of the other communities being tyranised, and the other communities rising in rebellion against the tyranny and oppression of the powerful class. But here are the two opinions, and when the Public Service Commission came here, you had a Mohamedan representative on that to watch your interest, and after the Public Service Commission had gone all over India and had sent in their report, the Mohamedan representative is the only man who pleads for Simultaneous Examinations, all the others going against it. And curiously enough, I saw his defender in the Press in Madras saying that he has gone on evidence. Such an impartial man, that he has gone on evidence! The other people had not gone on evidence! This gentleman alone had gone on evidence, and yet what are the facts? I see, in the voluminous report of the Public Service Commission evidence, that 28 Mohamedan gentlemen gave evidence before the Commission, out of whom 7 are for Simultaneous Examinations, 15 against, 4 for Simultaneous Examinations, but not upon competition, stating that those who pass in the examination ought to be picked up according to communal conditions, which is practically against Simultaneous Examinations. One gentleman said 'My personal opinion is for Simultaneous Examinations, but

I am here as the representative of my community and my community is against it.' A very frank and honest statement. One gentleman of the Provincial Service gave no opinion on the subject. Now, the majority of the Public Service Commission has pointed out the difficulty also with regard to Provinces. In certain Provinces feelings against certain things are stronger than in others. Therefore, it is interesting to notice how this Mohamedan opinion is divided. In Bengal, 3 men gave evidence, one was against Simultaneous Examinations, another was half and half for communal representation and the third gave no evidence on this point. In Punjab, 5 were against Simultaneous Examinations and one for communal representation. So you see that the opinion of Punjab goes against Simultaneous Examinations. In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 3 were against and one for Simultaneous Examinations and 2 for communal selection. Here again a strong preponderance of opinions is against Simultaneous Examinations In Behar and Orissa, 2 for and against; in Central Provinces, 2 Mohamedans gave evidence and both were against. In Bombay, 3 for, one against; in Bombay, only one witness for Simultaneous Examinations. Here is the voice of the Mohamedan community, by an overwhelming majority, saying that they are against open competition. They want communal selection; yet the educated Mohamedan representative on the Commission says exactly the opposite. Therefore, can you leave the interests of your community in the hands of your leaders? I think the time has not come simply to trust the educated man and say 'Let him decide for us.' My own opinion is that, in most of these cases, we have received impartial treatment more from Europeans than from men of our own communities (Applause).

Now, gentlemen, I have kept you a very long time. The next subject I want to deal with is something connected with practical reforms. I am afraid that I have passed the time, and as it is past half past six, I will postpone that subject. I will deal with it some where soon and tell you what my views are. You can criticise it or reject it or do whatever you like. One word before I conclude.

SPECULATION AS TO IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT

There has been a great deal of speculation as to the formation of an Imperial Parliament and what India's position in that Parliament will be. There has been no such authoritative pronouncement on the part of any leading politician. As to the formation of an Imperial Parliament, which will look after imperial

affairs, and the Local Parliament, which will look after local affairs, nothing has been decided, Some of the colonies are against the proposal, some are in favour, and finally they may find that the majority of the colonies are against the proposals involved in it and they may not proceed with the thing at all. But let us take for argument's sake that such a proposal does come within practical politics and that the component parts, except India, should come to constitute a Parliament, sitting in London for the management of the imperial affairs. It is highly improbable that this Imperial Parliament will directly deal with India. India may not get what is called Home Rule, but India may have autonomy in the sense that the Government of India will take the place of the Parliament in the Colonies if they have to constitute an Imperial Parliament. I do not expect they will give you Home Rule. But it is exceedingly likely that the rigid control now exercised over the Government of India will be relaxed. For all practical purposes, India would be a self-governing country, not self-governing in the sense that India will be governed by Indians, but governed by the Government of India as it is at present constituted, perhaps a little modified. Under these conditions, the question of representation of Indians in the Imperial Parliament will only be for imperial purposes. There will be no necessity for sending your representatives to that Parliament in order to look after your internal affairs, and then I may assure you that India will have representation in some form in such a Parliament as that. If it is two houses, it will have representation in both the houses. But I do not think any sane Indian will claim that India should be represented proportionately, that is in proportion to her population. Because, if you are represented by population, you will swamp the rest of the British Empire. But representation, for having your side of the case represented, there will be. The proportion may be small, but you will have the dignity of being represented in the Imperial Parliament for all practical purposes. The difficulties that some of us were contemplating was, if this Parliament should take on its shoulders the administration and supervision of India, it stands to reason that, if it has divested itself of all the local affairs, the constitution of the Parliament will be such that it will not be fit to look after internal affairs of India. Further, evolution there must be, and, even if there is no such evolution, if other proposals are brought forward, then it will be time to get excited. Hysterical politics and political hysteria are meaningless.

CONCLUSION

I have attempted o point out what our immediate political outlook is The outlook is to pursue the same path we were pursuing hitherto. Go on in the same path, trusting in the Government, which has till now given you concessions, not because they were afraid of you—they have no reason to be afraid of you,—but because they considered them to be just. They are delaying concessions, they are giving them in instalments, because you must have time to learn As yet your public men have learned very little. You have only very few public men, who have learned them at all. You must have better capacity developed on the part of your public men and more such public men. It may be that you have not been given opportunities Your Legislative Council, it is said, as it exists now, does no good. I do not share that view. Lord Morley's reforms gave us the reformed Legislative Council. I said to a friend of mine, when the reforms were announced, "Look at its constitution. I think it is only intended to be a platform for public men. It is intended for public men in India to learn work of that kind and to get accustomed to it." Unless you have a large number of men like them, where are the men for future parliaments? A new member, who comes to the council, will be inconvenienced for sometime, till he has learned the work. Therefore, you must ask for hundreds of members. If you ask for a large increase of members of Legislative Council, perhaps it will be granted, and then ask for special representation for all the communities, and let hundreds and hundreds of your men go into these councils, learn the work and the method of carrying on public administration. When you have got sufficient number of men, then ask for a constitution. Now, you do not know what to do. Half your municipalities are mismanaged. They do not understand the principle of municipal administration. You want men who really understand it. Therefore, do really work in the way of improving yourself and then the reforms you ask for will come in unasked.

The Memorandum of the Nineteen

Post-War Reforms

The following Memorandum with regard to Post-War Reforms, signed by nineteen elected non-official Members of the Imperial Legislative Council was submitted to H. E. the Viceroy :—

There is no doubt that the termination of the war will see a great advance in the ideals of government all over the civilised world, and especially in the British Empire, which entered into the struggle in defence of the liberties of weak and small nationalities and is pouring forth its richest blood and treasure in upholding the cause of justice and humanity in the international relations of the world. India has borne her part in this struggle and cannot remain unaffected by the new spirit of change for a better state of things. Expectations have been raised in this country and hopes held out that after the war the problems of Indian administration will be looked at from a new angle of vision. The people of India have good reasons to be grateful to England for the great progress in her material resources and the widening of her intellectual and political outlook under British Rule, and for the steady, if slow, advance up-to-date.

PREVIOUS REFORMS

Commencing with the Charter Act of India of 1833 up to 1909, the Government of India was conducted by a buraucracy, almost entirely non-Indian in its composition, and not responsible to the people of India. The reforms of 1909 for the first time introduced an Indian element in the direction of affairs in the administration of India. This element was of a very limited character. The Indian people accepted it as an indication on the part of the Government of a desire to admit the Indians into the inner counsels of the Indian Empire, so far as the Legislative Councils are concerned. The numbers of non-official members were enlarged, with increased facilities for debate and interpellation The Supreme Legislative Council retained an absolute official majority, and in the Provincial Legislative Councils, where a non-official majority was allowed, such a majority included nominated members and the European representatives. In measures largely affecting the people, whether of legislation

or taxation, by which Europeans were not directly affected, the Europeans would naturally support the Government, and the nominated members, being nominees of Government, would be inclined to take the same side. Past experience has shown that this has actually happened on various occasions. The non-official majorities, therefore, in the Provincial Councils have proved largely illusory and give no real power to the representatives of the people. The Legislative Councils, whether supreme or provincial, are at present nothing but advisory bodies, without any power of effective control over the Government, Imperial or Provincial.

NON-ASSOCIATION OF PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES

The people or their representatives are practically as little associated with the real government of the country as they were before the reforms, except for the introduction of the Indian members in the Executive Councils, where again the nomination rests entirely with the Government, the people having no voice in the selection of the Indian members. The object, which the Government had in view in introducing the reforms of 1909, was, as expressed by the Prime Minister in his speech in the House of Commons on the second reading of the Indian Councils Bill, on April 1st, 1909, that it was most desirable in the circumstances to give to the people of India the feeling that these Legislative Councils are not mere automatons, the wires of which were pulled by the official hierarchy. This object, it is submitted, has not been attained.

DISABILITIES OF INDIANS

Apart from this question of the constitution of the Legislative and Executive Councils, the people labour under certain grave disabilities, which not only prevent the utilisation, but also lead to the wastage, of what is best in them and are positively derogatory to their sense of national self-respect. The Arms Act, which excludes from its operation Europeans and Anglo-Indians and applies only to the pure natives of the country, the disqualification of Indians for forming or joining Volunteer Corps and their exclusion from the commissioned ranks of the Army, are disabilities, which are looked upon with an irritating sense of racial differentiation. It would be bad enough if these were mere disabilities. Restrictions and prohibitions regarding the possession and use of arms have tended to emasculate the civil population in India and expose them to serious danger. The position of Indians in India is practically this, that they have no real

part or share in the direction of the Government of the country and are placed under very great and galling disabilities, from which the other members of the British Empire are exempt and which have reduced them to a state of utter helplessness.

INDENTURED LABOUR

The existence, moreover, of the system of indentured emigration give to the British Colonies and the outside world the impression that Indians, as a whole, are no better than indentured coolies, who are looked upon as very little, if at all, above the slave. The present state of things make the Indians feel that, though theoretically they are equal subjects of the King, they hold a very inferior position in the British Empire Other Asiatic races also hold the same, if not a worse, view about India and her status in the Empire. Humiliating as the position of inferiority is to the Indian mind, it is almost unbearable to the youth of India, whose outlook is broadened by education and travel in foreign parts, where they come in contact with other free races.

INDIA'S HOPE AND FAITH

In the face of these grievances and disabilities, what has sustained the people is the hope and faith, inspired by the promises and assurances of fair and equal treatment, which have been held out from time to time by our Sovereigns and British statesmen of high standing. In the crisis we are now going through, the Indian people have sunk domestic differences between themselves and the Government and have faithfu.ly and loyally stood by the Empire. The Indian soldiers were eager to go to the battlefields of Europe, not as mercenary troops, but as free citizens of the British Empire, which required their service, and her civilian population was animated by one desire, namely, to stand by England in the hour of her need. Peace and tranquillity reigned throughout India, when she was practically denuded of British and Indian troops. The Prime Minister of England, while voicing the sentiments of the English people in regard to India's part in this great war, spoke of Indians as the joint and equal custodians of one common interest and future. India does not claim any reward for her loyalty, but she has a right to expect that the want of confidence on the part of Government, to which she not unnaturally ascribes her present state, should now be a thing of the past, and that she should no longer occupy a position of subordination but one of comradeship. This would assure the people that,

England is ready and willing to help them to attain Self-Government under the aegis of the British Crown and thus discharge the noble mission, which she has undertaken and to which she has so often given voluntary expression through her rulers and statesmen.

SELF-GOVERNMENT, NOT MERE GOOD GOVERNMENT

What is wanted is not merely good government or efficient administration, but government that is acceptable to the people, because it is responsible to them. This is what, India understands, would constitute the changed angle of vision. If, after the termination of the war, the position of India practically remains what it was before and there is no material change in it, it will undoubtedly cause bitter disappointment and great discontent in the country, and the beneficient efforts of participation in common danger, overcome by common effort, will soon disappear, leaving no record behind save the painful memory of unrealised expectations. We feel sure that the Government is also alive to the situation and is contemplating a measure of reform in the administration of the country.

PROPOSALS

We feel that we should avail ourselves of this opportunity to offer to the Government our humble suggestions as to the lines on which these reforms should proceed. They must, in our opinion, go to the root of the matter. They must give to the people real and effective participation in the government of the conntry and also remove those irritating disabilities as regards the possession of arms and a military career, which indicate want of confidence in the people and place them in a position of inferiority and helplessness. Under the first head, we would take the liberty to suggest the following measures for consideration and adoption:—

(1) In all the Executive Councils, Provincial and Imperial, half the number of members should be Indians. The European element in the Executive Councils should, as far as possible, be nominated from the ranks of men trained and educated in the public life of England, so that India may have the benefit of a wider outlook and larger experience of the outside world. It is not absolutely essential that the members of the Executive Councils, Indians or Europeans, should have experience of actual administration, for, as in the case of Ministers in

England, the assistance of the permanent officials of the department is always available to them. As regards Indians we venture to say that a sufficient number of qualified Indians, who can worthily fill the office of members of the Executive Council and hold portfolios, is always available. Our short experience in this direction has shown how Indians, like Sir S. P. Sinha, Sir Syed Ali Imam, the late Mr. Krishnaswami Iyer, Sir Shams ul-Huda and Sir Sankaran Nair, have maintained a high level of administrative ability in the discharge of their duties. Moreover, it is well known that the Native States, where Indians have opportunities, have produced renowned administrators, like Sir Salar Jang, Sir T. Madhava Rao, Sir Seshadri Iyer, Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao, not to mention the present administrators in the various Native States of India. The statutory obligation, now existing, that three of the members of the Supreme Executive Council shall be selected from the public services in India, and similar provisions with regard to Provincial Councils should be removed. The elected representatives of the people should have a voice in the selection of the Indian members of the Executive Councils and for that purpose a principle of election should be adopted.

(2) All the Legislative Councils in India should have a substantial majority of elected representatives. We feel that they will watch and safeguard the interests of the masses and the agricultural population with whom they are in closer touch than any European officer, however sympathetic can possibly be. The proceedings of the various Legislative Councils, the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League bear ample testimony to the solicitude of the educated Indians for the welfare of the masses and their acquaintance with their wants and wishes. The franchise should be broadened and extended directly to the people, Mahomedans or Hindus, wherever they are in a minority, being given proper and adequate representation, having regard to their numerical strength and position.

(3) The total number of the members of the Supreme Council should be not less than 150, and of the Provincial Councils, not less than 100 for the major provinces and not less than 60 to 75 for the minor provinces.

(4) The Budget should be passed in the shape of money bills, fiscal autonomy being conceded to India.

(5) The Imperial Legislative Council should have power to legislate on all matters and to discuss and pass resolutions relating to all matters of Indian administration,

and the Provincial Councils should have similar powers with regard to provincial administrations, save and except that the direction of military affairs, of foreign relations, declarations of war, the making of peace, and the entering into treaties other than commercial, should be vested in the Government of India. As a safeguard, the Governor-General-in-Council, or the Governor-in-Council, as the case may be, should have the right of veto, but subject to certain conditions and limitations.

(6) The Council of the Secretary of State should be abolished. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, hold, in relation to the Government of India, a position similar to that which the Secretary of State for the Colonies holds in relation to the Colonies. The Secretary of State should be assisted by two permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should be an Indian. The salaries of the Secretary and the Under-Secretaries should be placed on the British Estimates.

(7) In any scheme of Imperial Federation, India should be given, through her chosen representatives, a place similar to that of the self-governing Dominions.

(8) The Provincial Governments should be made autonomous, as stated in the Government of India's despatch, dated August 25th, 1911.

(9) The United Provinces as well as the other major provinces should have a Governor brought from the United Kingdom with an Executive Council.

(10) A full measure of Local Self-Government should be immediately granted.

(11) The right to carry arms should be granted to Indians on the same conditions as to Europeans.

(12) Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers and units of a Territorial Army established in India.

(13) Commissions in the Army should be given to Indian youths under conditions similar to these applicable to Europeans.

Political Reconstruction In India

ARTICLES IN "JUSTICE" (1917)

BY

DR. T. M. NAIR

Our readers must be getting fairly tired of hearing vague talks about political reconstruction in India. The only definite proposal for such reconstruction that has been placed before the Government is that contained in the Memorandum of the Nineteen. To the vast majority of the people, who talk about Home Rule, Self-Government and so forth, the actual proposals of the Imperial Nineteen are unknown. Out of those who have studied those proposals many have not understood them. We shall, therefore, consider here the proposals contained in the Memorandum of the Nineteen and discuss in detail their practicability or otherwise. When we have shown that the chief proposals made by the nineteen are impracticable, we shall proceed to consider what would be practical under the existing conditions of India.

THE MEMORANDUM OF THE NINETEEN

A Criticism

The Memorandum of the Nineteen demands certain changes in the constitution of the Legislative and Executive Councils in India. It also asks for the removal of certain grave disabilities, under which the people of India are suffering. We might at once say that we are entirely at one with the signatories of the Memorandum in asking for the removal of such disabilities as we are suffering under the Arms Act, which makes very sharp racial distinctions in a very offensive manner, the disqualification of Indians for forming or joining volunteer corps and their exclusion from the commissioned ranks of the army. The question of indentured labour is also referred to in the Memorandum. All the proposals connected with the above disabilities are non-contentious. In fact, the Government have already removed some of them and have promised to remove the others at an early date. Therefore, we only intend to discuss here the constitutional changes proposed in the Memorandum. We had better quote the proposals made by the nineteen for the information of our readers before we proceed to study them in detail. The following are the proposals contained in the memorandum of the nineteen;—

[N.B —The proposals appear in pages 33 to 35, supra.

The above proposals may be considered under three heads, reform of the Executive Councils, reform of the Legislative Councils and removal of disabilities. As we have already observed, we do not intend to go into details about the removal of disabilities, the proposals connected with it being absolutely non-contentious. With regard to the Executive Councils, it will be generally agreed that they should be enlarged and that larger numbers of Indians should find their place on them, but the proposal to elect the Indian members of the Executive Council by the elected members of the Legislative Council is not a practical proposal. The members of the Executive Councils are colleagues of the Viceroy or the Governors, as the case may be, in the Government of India or the Provincial Governments. A colleague of the Viceroy, who gets to that position other than by nomination by the Viceroy himself or his predecessor, (a continuity of policy being established), will be a cause of friction. A Viceroy, as head of the Government, can be responsible for the policy of the Government as constituted by himself, but not for the action of members of his Government, who have been thrust on him by a process of election by his Legislative Council Election of the members of the Government will be practicable, when the members of the Government are considered to be servants of the Legislative Council and not its leaders The Swiss Federal Executive, called the Federal Council is the only instance that we can think of of an elected Executive Government; and the Federal Council in Switzerland are the servants of the Federal Assembly, the Swiss being a sovereign people governing their country directly. Perhaps, this is one of the hasty conclusions arrived at by the nineteen in drafting their Memorandum, as remarked by Mr. Bupendranath Basu. With a little less haste and a little more consideration they might have put their proposals differently. A proposal that members of the Executive Government must either be, or should become, members of the Legislative Council, within three months after the appointment, would meet the case equally well. With the large increase in the membership of the Provincial and Imperial Councils, it ought to be easy to find a seat, even an elective seat, for a man, who is considered good enough to be a member of the Executive Council, ready to go through the baptism of fire in the newly enlarged and popular councils. With regard to the other suggestions regarding the constitution of the Executive Councils, we are of opinion that no rule or enactment ought to keep out of the Executive Councils any elements, which may add to the

deliberative and administrative strength of those councils. The experienced Indian official, the broad-minded English politician, members of the Indian Civil Service and non-official Indian leaders are all necessary elements, which will strengthen the Executive Councils in India. Attempts on the part of any of these classes to jockey the others out will weaken, rather than strengthen, these Councils.

But the essence of the demands made by the nineteen members consists in the proposal to make the Legislative Councils contain a majority of elected members and to make the Executive Government responsible to those Legislative Councils. A system, where the Executive Government is controlled by, and is responsible to, an elected assembly, or, at all events, an assembly containing a majority of elected representatives, is the essence of parliamentary government, and in a system of parliamentary government, where the elected assembly has the supreme financial and legislative control, the only individual, who can carry on a Government, as the head of the executive, is the individual, who, for the time being, can command a majority in the Legislative Assembly. Anyone else, attempting the task of being the head of the Government, will either have to give up the task in a very short time, or have to degenerate into a sort of puppet, who will automatically carry out the orders of the Legislative Assembly. We may explain that we are here talking of the real head of the executive government, not its titular head like the President of the French Republic. The Budget has to be passed through the Legislative Councils in the form of money bills. That is the most important of the proposals formulated by the nineteen. That ensures the complete control over the income and the expenditure of the Government by the elected representatives of the people. The head of the Government, who proposes the Budget, will find it absolutely impossible to get through the committee stages of the estimates, and still more the different stages of the appropriation bill and the finance bill, without a majority at his back. In a permanent and hopeless minority he may scrape through with his appropriation bill sometimes, but with his finance bill never. When he has got through with his financial proposals under these conditions, he may be thankful, if even a small fraction of his pay is left intact. The same difficulty will have to be experienced with regard to legislation. The head of the Government, who cannot control legislation but must helplessly submit to any law passed by the majority, must be a pitiable figure indeed. No one under a parliamentary system of government, no one

who has not the support of the majority in the parliament. can carry on the government of the country. The proposals of the nineteen, if carried into effect, will result in a government consisting of the Viceroy and an Executive Council constituted in the prescribed manner, who are helpless to impose one pie of taxation or incur one pie of expenditure on their initiative or pass any enactment, which they consider to be necessary, for the administration of the country. We may be asked "Why do you presume that the elected members will be hostile to the Government?" For the purposes of practical parliamentary government, every member, who is not returned definitely pledged to support a given policy, must be taken as hostile to that policy. It may be sometimes some such members may support that policy, but a Government cannot exist on chance supports. Nor can they go on for any length of time depending on the good intentions of the majority in the Legislative Councils. Good intentions have, we are told, proved excellent paving stones in another place; but, as securities for the parliamentary support of a responsible government, they are worse than broken reeds.

We have already pointed out that, under a system of parliamentary government, where the elected assembly has the supreme financial and legislative control, it is essential that the head of the Executive Government should have the support of the majority in the elected assembly. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. "In the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary", says Dr. Woodrow Wilson, "in theory, the ministers are responsible to the Houses, and must resign, if defeated, but the theory finds no realisation in practice. Race lines determine party lines in the House, and even members of the same race do not keep steadily together, in purpose or policy; so that there are no governing parties and no majorities that can be reckoned beforehand. The Emperor may placate now this group, and again the other, and so keeps his own ministers and pursues his own policy as he can." Parts of this description remind us of conditions nearer home, but this state of affairs is by no means an ideal to be kept in view, when new constitutions are being formed. The Emperor of Austria-Hungary apparently has an extremely difficult task before him. No one will deliberately suggest the creation of similar difficulties for the future Viceroy of India. It will be demoralising, if the Viceroy, under the new conditions, in order to enable him to get his Budget through the Legislative Council, has to go about with C. I. E's in his pocket for judicious distribution among the members of recalcitrant

groups in the Legislative Council, or with L.I.E.'s on his lips for diplomatic use to placate wavering supporters of the Government. The conditions will be intolerable and repugnant to any high-souled statesman, who may be called upon to occupy the position of Viceroy of India. It has been suggested that all these difficulties can be overcome by the exercise of the power of veto that is proposed to be vested in the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors in India. We are afraid that the veto, as a weapon for every day use, is worse than useless. It is excellent as a reserve power, seldom to be used, but only to be hung up like the sword of Damocles over the heads of legislative councillors. A too frequent use of the veto would rouse opposition far greater even than if reforms were absolutely refused. The power of veto is seldom used by any authority in whom that power is vested. What is now spoken of in India as veto is not veto at all. The Legislative Councils, as at present constituted, are advisory bodies, their resolutions take the shape of recommendations to the Government, and when the Government decline to accept such recommendations, it is usual to talk of the Government having vetoed such and such a resolution. That, however, is not a correct expression to use. The veto has also another disadvantage. It is only applicable to correct an error of commission, it is useless to correct one of omission. If the Legislative Council passes an objectionable measure, the Viceroy can veto it, but if it declines to pass a useful measure, the veto is of no help to the Viceroy in getting that measure passed. The veto is supposed to be used by the Viceroy in his capacity as head of the Executive Government. We are here discussing the disadvantages, under which the head of the Executive Government under proposed conditions would labour, and to endow him with the power of veto will not help him out of the difficulties. In any country with parliamentary institutions, with a responsible government, the veto takes a back seat. There are no other safeguards that can possibly be devised, which would enable the Viceroy to carry on the administration of India, when a Legislative Council, with complete financial control over the Government of India, has been brought into existence. Under those conditions, the only Government that will be possible will be a Government through ministers, chosen from leading representatives of the people, who are responsible to the elected assembly, both for their policy and administration.

The proposal of the nineteen is excellent as a measure of revenge. In the past, governments in India have carried things rather with a high hand. In the Legislative Council

interpellations have been snappishly answered, resolutions have been disallowed, grants of money for useful objects have been declined. And if the idea is that, under the new regime, the popular representatives should stop supplies, reject Government Bills and snub Viceroys and Governors, no better proposals for attaining these objects can be suggested. The Peers of England at one time said that the commoners ought to have nothing to do with laws except to obey them. The commoners some time after retorted that the Peers have nothing to do with taxes except to pay them. But the method of putting the retort into actual effect was carried out in a practical manner. The proposal of the nineteen, however, from a punitive point of view is magnificent, but it is not practical politics; and the only practical method is to accept the logical consequences of setting up parliamentary institutions, namely, to establish responsible government, consisting of ministers chosen from and representing the majority in the popular chamber We are afraid that the proposal of the nineteen is the result of an unsatisfactory compromise, Evidently, proposals were put forward to claim self-governing institutions, and when it came to the final stage of putting forward proposals for the only system of executive government possible under parliamentary institutions, the proposers got frightened at their own audacity and then hesitated and were lost. Complete parliamentary institutions, with a bureaucratic executive government, will look a hideous mongrel. In our opinion, if the proposers of this political scheme of reconstruction had followed their own inclinations, they would have arrived at a far more reasonable conclusion than they have done now. Their scheme might then be called premature, but not impracticable or absurd. They would probably have arrived at a political constitution somewhat resembling that of Canada or Australia. Take, for instance, the constitution of the Government of Canada. In that colony, the Crown is represented by the Governor-General, who acts in the administration of the colony as the Crown acts in the administration of the United Kingdom, through responsible ministers, representing the majority in the popular house of the legislature and who lead that House in legislation and in all its functions, following the precedent of responsible cabinet government established in England. Almost the same is the constitution of the Government of Australia. No one will dream of an administration of Canada or Australia with their popularly elected parliament, with the Governor-General, the representative of the Crown, as the real head of the Executive Government responsible to parliament.

It has now been definitely announced by the Secretary of State representing the British Cabinet that Self-Government within the Empire is the ultimate goal of British Rule in India and that this goal is to be attained by successive and well-marked stages. The imperial nineteen themselves admit that "the people or their representatives are practically as little associated with the real government of the country as they were before the reforms, except for the introduction of the Indian members into the Executive Councils." If that is true, we should have thought that the next step would have been to make a beginning in associating the representatives of the people with the real government of the country. If responsible government and parliamentary institutions are to be granted to the people of India at the present time, it would not be the beginning, but would be the end—the goal of British administration in India. Whether the British Government are prepared to undertake this long jump is another question altogether. Even the Congress and the Moslem League have not ventured to make such a demand, and even if they venture to do so now, we may leave them to settle that matter with the Secretary of State and the British Parliament. But if they are not prepared to take that step, all that we can say is that the position that they have now taken up is not safe but slippery ground. In the attempts of the people of India to climb the heights of Self-government, there are definite and well-marked stages at whicb they can halt and resume their climbing at a more convenient time. The stage, at which they now propose to halt, is an impossible one. They have either to climb up a little higher or to climb down a little lower. We ourselves do not think that at present they can afford to climb higher. So they have to climb down and reach a safe halting ground. In other words, since they cannot attain Home Rule at one bound, they have to attain Home Rule by instalments. What the first instalment ought to be we shall presently deal with.

Mr. Bupendranath Basu in his explanation at Calcutta of his speech at Bombay, said that he adhered to the principle underlying the proposals of the nineteen, but thought it necessary to consider carefully the details. We are afraid that Mr. Basu is confusing principles and details. When he asks for complete powers, both financial and legislative, for Legislative Councils, the question of nature of the Executive Government, which has to be brought into existence, is not a question of detail, but one of the main principles underlying the reconstruction. To convert a highly centra

lised bureaucracy, as Lord Islington aptly described it, into responsible ministers in an elected parliamentary body, is upsetting the essential principle of parliamentary government. We are glad to see that Lord Islington agrees with us in this view. Speaking at Oxford, Lord Islington said that "the effect of the proposals of the nineteen would be to place the Government in a constant risk of seeing measures and resolutions carried, to which it objected and whose execution could not, as in constitutional countries, be placed on those responsible for their introduction." That is precisely the difficulty. If the majority in a legislative body vote for and carry a measure, the representatives of that majority ought to be the executive agents for putting that measure into practice.

LORD ISLINGTON'S SUGGESTIONS

Before we proceed any further, we must consider some of the suggestions thrown out by Lord Islington. Lord Islington carefully disclaimed that he was speaking in his position as the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India. He said that no one was responsible for the programme he had sketched but himself. Even so, Lord Islington's suggestions deserve most careful consideration at the hands of Indian publicists. The opinion of Lord Islington, a private member of the House of Lords, is even more valuable than that of the Parliamentary Under Secretary for India. The Under Secretary's opinion will more or less be masked by that of the India Office. Lord Islington's opinion will be his own, the result of his own practical experience. As we have already said, Lord Islington disagrees with the proposals of the nineteen, so far as the reform of the Legislative Councils is concerned. He is equally opposed to the suggestion that the Indian members of the Executive Councils should be elected by the additional members of the Legislative Council. His Lordship's opposition to these two proposals we expected. We also expect that every one with any parliamentary experience would be opposed to these two proposed reforms every bit as much as Lord Islington is. But it is with Lord Islington's suggestions regarding the methods of reconstruction that we are more concerned.

In the forefront of his suggestions he placed decentralisation. By that His Lordship means the demarcation of the functions of the Imperial and Provincial Governments. Every one will agree that this is the first step to be taken in any political reconstruction, for, unless the Provincial Governments know what their exact powers are, how can they transfer any of their powers to popular control? It

is true that at the present time there is a sort of rough understanding as to what is the Imperial sphere of control and what the Provincial. The Decentralisation Commission, in their report, say—"Amongst the important matters, which the Government of India retain in their own hands, are those relating to foreign affairs, the defence of the country, general taxation, currency, public debt, tariffs, posts and telegraphs, railways and accounts and auditing. Ordinary internal administration, police, civil and criminal justice, prisons, the assessment and collection of revenues, education, medical and sanitary arrangements, irrigation, buildings and roads, forests and the control over municipal and rural boards fall to the share of the Provincial Government". If this division of functions could be strictly adhered to, we should have had a working basis for political reconstruction. But, unfortunately, even in the matters which are supposed to be under Provincial Governments, the Government of India are constantly exercising a general control. As the Decentralisation Commission remarked, "the essential point to be borne in mind is this, that, at present, even in matters primarily assigned to the Provincial Governments, these act as the agents of the Government of India, who exercise a very full and constant supervision over their proceedings." The existing arrangement is all right as long as Provincial Governments are entirely constituted of officials, but when non-official public representatives are given a share in the Provincial Governments, difficulties begin. The Government of India can and do order Provincial Governments to do or not to do certain things, but they cannot in the same manner order popular representatives. Whatever powers are transferred to the popular representatives must be absolutely free from any control by the Government of India. Therefore, Lord Islington is perfectly right when he says that much could be done by decentralisation.

We have very good examples of decentralisation both in Canada and the United States of America. In both those countries, you have the Federal and Provincial Governments, corresponding to our Imperial and Local Governments, and the way in which decentralisation has been effected in these countries is thus described by Dr. Woodrow Wilson: "Our constitution grants certain specified powers to the General Government and reserves the rest to the States; the British North America Act, on the contrary, grants certain specified powers to the Provinces and reserves all others to the Government of the Dominion." Either method will do. Whether certain specified powers

are reserved for the Government of India and all the rest left to Local governments, or vice versa, the effect is practically the same. Therefore, the first procedure to be adopted is sharply to demarcate between the functions of Imperial and Provincial Governments and effectively stop the incursion of the Government of India into the realms of Provincial Administration. On this point we entirely agree with Lord Islington.

The next suggestion of Lord Islington is not quite so satisfactory as his first. Lord Islington is reported to have said that they must "aim at more representative control over Local Governments through the medium of elected representatives, perhaps best done by the creation on the French plan of Standing Committees of the Legislative Councils." We agree that there ought to be more representative control over Local Governments through the medium of elected representatives, but we cannot quite see that the French plan of Standing Committees of the Legislative Councils is the best method for exercising such control. The British Parliament, except on one occasion, never attempted administrative control by Parliamentary Committees. and that one occasion was by the Long Parliament. when Parliamentary Committees displaced ministers and Parliament attempted to carry on administration directly through the media of these Committees. That experiment has not been attempted by the British Parliament either before or since that of the Long Parliament. If we may borrow Lord Islington's language, we might say the idea of executive control through Parliamentary Committees was almost unknown to British practice. But the committee organisation of the French Houses has always been one of their chief characteristics. Every month, during the session, the members of the Chamber of Deputies are divided into eleven and those of the Senate into nine bureaux. The selection is done by drawing lots. These bureaux elect four monthly Committees and one annual Committee on the Budget, each bureau contributing its member or members to these Committees. The bureaux also select all the special Committees, to which the bills are referred, except when the House prefers to elect a Committee. The method of selecting the bureaux by drawing lots is intended to check the tendency to factions. The Committees are a strong check on the ministers. The encroachment on the powers of the ministers has led to rapid degeneration of ministerial responsibility in France. The ministers, instead of being leaders, are gradually made submissive, obedient, sometimes even servile tools

in the hands of the Chamber of Deputies. The result of this system is thus described by Dr. Woodrow Wilson—"So capricious, so wilful has the Chamber been in its rejection of every Minister, who would not at once willingly serve its moods, so impatient indeed of all real Ministerial leadership, that almost every public man of experience and ability in France has now been in one way or another discredited by its action; and France is staggering under that most burdensome, that most intolerable of all forms of government, "Government by mass meeting", by an inorganic popular assembly. It is this state of affairs which has once and again called forth so loud a demand for a revision of the constitution, and it has seemed, upon at least one notable occasion, to create an opportunity for another return to some sort of dictatorship". This tendency of Committees in the French Chamber is exactly the same as the tendency of the Committees in the Long Parliament, namely, to supersede ministers and to establish direct government by Parliament. This is not a desirable change. But parliamentary committees constituted on a different basis can be made to do useful work.

FEDERAL SYSTEM AND PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

The attention of our readers has already been drawn to the emphasis laid by Lord Islington to the development of the provincial system of government as the first essential of political reconstruction in India, and we have pointed out how it was impossible for the Provincial Governments to delegate powers to popular representatives without first defining their own powers. The 'Times', commenting on Lord Islington's speech, says—"We are convinced ourselves that the right way of enlarging the liberties of the people of India is to begin by developing the provincial system". The development of the provincial system necessarily implies provincial financial autonomy. The present peculiar system of provincial contracts, with divided revenue heads, and the absolute supremacy of the Government of India over provincial finance, must give place to a more rational system. As Lord Islington says, "adequate powers of taxation must be given to the Local Government". Not only powers of taxation, but absolute fiscal autonomy, ought to be conceded to the provinces, the Imperial Government receiving from the Provincial Governments fixed subsidies for imperial purposes. It is impossible to devise a satisfactory scheme of Self-Government for India, except on the basis of federal Home Rule, and in any scheme of federal Home Rule the units of the system should be

properly constituted before we can think of constructing the federal authority. In this connection, we may remark that the development of countries in modern times has taken this direction. While we see that, in old European countries, like England, France and Italy, there has been no decentralisation in the Government of the country, comparatively modern countries, like America, Germany, Canada, Australia and South Africa, were all constituted on the federal basis. America, with a population of 100 millions, has 49 Governments, national and provincial; Germany with 68 millions has over 30 Governments; Canada with 8 millions has 9: Autralia with 5 millions has 7 and South Africa with 6 millions has 5. From this it will be evident that the units formed for Self-Government are all comparatively small.

India is favourably situated for the development of Home Rule in one sense, namely, that she has already got a system of Imperial and Provincial Governments; but as the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji remarked to the present writer in 1893, our provinces are too unwieldy to form units of Self-Government. To construct a satisfactory scheme of Self-Government for India, you will first of all have to divide India into provinces or states of reasonable dimensions. If it were possible also to make these divisions on racial, religious or language basis, much of our difficulties could have been removed, but, unfortunately, as this is not possible, the division must be on territorial basis, corrective measures being subsequently adopted to see that each class and community in the State received its due representation. This reconstitution of the states or provinces in India will have to be done before India is granted complete Self-Government; but we have not come to that stage yet. We have only come to the stage when the people of India are to be trained and made ready to undertake the task of complete Self-Government in the future. And so, what are the steps to be adopted at the present time? As the 'Times' remarks, "the essence of the question is the provision of facilities for the gradual cultivation of a sense of responsibility in the business of government" To attain that, in the first instance, a number of men belonging to the different communities must first of all be trained in the methods of government. In any given province, at the present time, the number of available men with legislative experience is very small. This undoubtedly is due to the fact that the Legislative Councils of the past, compared to the vast population of the provinces in which they are established, were small. They had room only for a few non-officials, and in cases

where the same men remained in the councils for a number of terms, the facilities afforded for training men in legislative work were very small. Therefore, the first step in political reconstruction is to enlarge Councils. This will enable the training of a necessary number of men, and what is of equal importance, the representation of various classes and communities. To allow any one class a preponderating influence in the legislative assemblies would lead to trouble and defeat the object of Self Government.

TRANSFER OF SOME DEPARTMENTS TO POPULAR CONTROL

Having secured autonomous provinces and having constituted their legislative councils in which all classes are adequately represented, the next step is to give them more powers than they at present possess. The present councils are advisory bodies. The councils, when Self-Government is completely granted to India, will be practically parliamentary institutions, with complete control over the Government, both in administration and in legislation. For the present, we have to find something midway between the two. What we suggest is that certain selected branches of government and administration should be left to the control of the elected representatives, while the remaining branches of administration are left to the control of the Government as at present. We can make our meaning clear by taking a concrete example. At present, the Legislative Council may move and carry any number of resolutions, for example, regarding the Education Department. The Government are not bound to accept and carry into effect any of those resolutions. As a step in political reform, supposing it is laid down that, so far as the Department of Education is concerned, the Government shall be bound to accept any resolution passed by the Legislative Council, would be an advance on the existing state of affairs. The majority of the Council, who pass such a resolution, will naturally be responsible for its soundness. If, under such a system, the Education Department works more satisfactorily than it does now, the elected representatives of the people will get the credit for the improvement. In the same way, if there is any worsement, they will equally get the credit for that also. Under such a system, the representatives of the people will develop a greater sense of responsibility. They will have under their control certain departments, the working of which they could shape as they please, and in doing so, in addition to the development of a sense of responsibility, they would also be gaining experience. In this way, it ought to be

possible to transfer to popular control certain selected branches of administration. What these branches of administration ought to be in the beginning, is a matter of detail. They need not be the same in all the provinces, but, so far as Madras is concerned, we should think that education and local self-government ought to be included among the first group of departments transferred to popular contol, while the judicial and revenue departments ought to be among the last.

Having transferred such powers to the control of popular representatives, some changes are necessary in the working of the Legislative Councils in order to ensure that the departments transferred to popular control really come under the operation of that control This can easily be effected by a rule that the discussion of questions connected with these transferred departments should take place in the Legislative Council, where only the elected representatives of the people are present. The members of the Government, we mean the members of the Executive Council, must of course be permitted to attend and take part in the deliberations of the Council, but need not be given the power to vote. Thus, on all questions connected with these transferred departments, the power of voting will rest exclusively with the elected members, and the rule, that the decision of the Council on such questions must be accepted by Government, will make the power of the people's representatives over these transferred departments complete. It is necessary to put some restriction on the financial control of the popular representatives; otherwise, they might spend all the available revenues on the departments transferred to their control and leave the Government with no money to run the remaining departments. Therefore, the expenditure on the transferred departments ought to be limited either by a fixed grant or still better by assigned revenue, that is, certain heads of revenue being set apart for the expenditure connected with the transferred departments. With this safeguard, it ought to be easy to get the popular representatives to work the transferred departments. Whether it is sufficient to permit popular representatives to exercise control over the transferred departments with the aid of their ordinary powers as members of the Legislative Council, or whether fresh machinery has to be devised to make that control more complete, is an exceedingly interesting question, though it may be somewhat controversial. There are two possible methods of devising machinery, which will make popular

control over the transferred departments more complete. One is by means of Committees and the other by means of a system similar to that of the British Cabinet.

We have discussed above the proposal to have certain departments of Government administration transferred to the control of the elected representatives and suggested that so far as these transferred departments are concerned, the elected part of the Legislative Council should sit separately and act exactly like the legislature of a self governing colony. We raised the question as to whether matters could be left at that, or whether it was necessary to set up special committees to be associated with the members of the Executive Government, who have the portfolios of the transferred departments under their control, or whether the ministers, who ought to administer these departments, are to be selected from among elected members of the Legislative Council. There is a good deal to be said for and against both these proposals. We only put them forward to stimulate discussion, so that they may be prepared in a form ready to be placed before the Secretary of State when he arrives in India.

COMMITTEE SYSTEM

If the committee system is to be adopted, we think that it will be found advisable to entrust the portfolios of the transferred departments to the charge of Indian members of the Executive Council. It would be better to have separate small committees for each of the transferred departments, instead of having one big committee to look after all departments, and these small committees would work with the member of the Government, who has charge of the particular portfolio, practically in the same way as the Standing Committee of the Corporation works with the President of the Corporation. The member of the Executive Councill will still be the responsible minister, but will consult the committee of his department in all matters of detail, so far as the administration is concerned. In the case of acute difference of opinion between the committee and the minister, the question ought to be referred to the Legislative Council. In this way, practically a smooth working can be ensured and a good deal of popular control over the details of administration can be established, and, what is far more important, a number of members of the Legislative Council can be trained in the details of administration. This system of committees has an advantage over the system that prevails in the French Chambers, in that there is no possibility of the committee attempting to supersede the minister. The

other alternative is the selection of ministers for the transferred departments from among the elected members of the Legislative Council, in other words, so far as the transferred departments are concerned, to estsblish a system of Colonial Self-Government.

COLONIAL SYSTEM

A careful student of Indian politics has suggested this latter system as an experimental measure. He suggests that when the Legislative councils are constituted, the Governor should send for the member of the Council who, he thought, was the most likely to command a majority of its mambers, and entrust him with the task of forming a Government in respect of the transferred departments. The leader sent for would then proceed to select as many colleagues as there are transferred departments, who, together with himself, would form the Government. These ministers would, within a reasonable time, construct their own departments, the permanent heads of departments being members of the Indian Civil Serviee, and these ministers would be answerable to the Legislative Council, sitting in its special capacity, with a president of its own selection. If the ministry lost the confidence of the Council, they would either have to resign or ask the Governor to dissolve the Council. This is practically the system of Cabinet Government followed in England, and the proposal is that, instead of following the Cabinet system for the whole Government, it is to be applied to certain selected departments, and if the experiment is successful, gradually to extend the system till a complete colonial system of Self-Government is established As we have said, a good deal can be said in favour of both these systems, but the chief difficulty with the limited Cabinet system is in securing the hearty co-operation of the permanent departments. The permanent departments, for a considerable time yet to come, should be manned by the Indian Civil Service. It is not practicable to give complete control over the Indian Civil Service to these ministries, which may be set up to administer the selected departments. Any friction, or even want of harmonious co-operation, between the elected ministers and the members of the Indian Civil Service, would be fatal to the working of the system. Therefore, until a further stage in the evolution of Indian reforms is attained, the Cabinet system, even though of a limited character, which is proposed by a careful student of Indian public questions, will have to be postponed. We recognise, however, that this is a matter which the Secretary of State and his councillors are far more competent to decide

than private individuals, however closely they may have studied Indian questions. We consider that the mere transference of certain selected departments to the control of the elected members, in itself, without the addition of committees or cabinets, will be a tremendous advance. Non-official members hitherto have felt very little of the responsibility of constructing a Budget, and it will not be time wasted, if they spend a few years in acquiring this experience. It is very easy to criticise a Budget, and even to propose additional expenditure by suggesting corresponding reduction in the Civil Works estimate. We should really like to see our leading non-officials constructing a Budget, say, for the education and local self-government departments, with the full knowledge that the funds at their disposal are limited and that any false step they take will seriously injure the working of these two departments, the welfare of which all of them have at heart. If they satisfactorily get through this ordeal, even for two or three years, we think that they will be in a much better position to make a further advance towards Self-Government than they are at the present time.

OFFICIAL BLOC

So far we have only dealt with the transferred powers. With regard to the remaining powers, the whole Legislative Council, consisting of elected and nominated non-officials and officials, must go on, as they do now, as an advisory and legislative body. It has again been suggested that the official members should entirely be got rid of. This is quite possible, when the Coucil is sitting, to deal with the transferred powers, but, with regard to the Legislative Council as a whole, the proposal is not practicable. We are asked by the proposer of this change—"Why not empower the Provincial Government to declare that it cannot hold itself bound by this or that particular vote?" The answer is, that is only practicable, so far as resolutions or the Budget is concerned, but it is not practicable, so far as legislation is concerned. The main function of the Legislative Council is legislation, and legal authorites in Madras have held that a meeting of the Legislative Council cannot be called, unless there is some legislative business to be transacted at that meeting. Therefore, so far as legislation is concerned, Bills can only be carried into Acts, if there is a majority behind the movers of the Bills. For that reason official majorities cannot be got rid of. In fact, without a Government majority of some kind, legislative business of the Government cannot be carried on. When Self Government is attained and majorities do not go to the Government, the Government comes to the majority.

PROVINCIAL AND IMPERIAL SUBJECTS

We have already stated that a proper system of Self-Government in India can only be developed on a federal basis and that provincial autonomy is a necessary condition for the building up of a federal system of Self-Goverment. Therefore, we assume that, in the proposed reconstruction, such of the powers as are vested in the Provincial Governments would be free from the general and constant control, which the Government of India now exercise over them. It is only under such a system of provincial autonomy that it will be possible for the Provincial Governments to transfer some of their powers to the elected representatives of the people. Therefore, we take it for granted that, under the proposed system, the ordinary internal administration, police, civil and criminal justice, prisons, assessment and collection of revenue, education, medical and sanitary arrangements, irrigation, buildings and roads, forests and control over municipal and rural boards will all be under the absolute control of the Provincial Governments. We have also taken it for granted that the provinces will be given fiscal autonomy, and by fiscal autonomy we mean independence both as regards taxation and expenditure. Under this arrangement, it will be necessary to divide Imperial from Provincial sources of taxation, as has been done in the United States of America. In addition to the Imperial sources of taxation, the Imperial Government will of course have the fixed subsidies from Provincial Governments to meet the Imperial expenditure. After these arrangements are made, the Government of India will only have left under their control foreign affairs, defence of the country, Imperial taxation, currency, public debt, tariffs, communications, accounts and auditing. Out of these the signatories to the Memorandum have themselves proposed that military affairs, foreign relations, declaration of war, the making of peace, and the entering into treaties, other than commercial, should be vested in the Government of India, in other words, they should not be transferred to the Legislative Council. That leaves very little power in the hands of the Government of India of a transferable nature. Therefore, there is considerable force in what Lord Islington said. Speaking about the Government of India, His Lordship observed—"The liberalisation of the Supreme Legislative and Executive Councils would follow the lines, which I have sketched in the case of the Provincial Councils, but, in view of the greater importance of the matters in which the Imperial authorities have to deal, progress would necessarily have to be slower and would be dependent on the success of the changes in the Provincial Government." That is perfectly true.

CONTROL OF CUSTOMS

We notice, however, one point mentioned in the Memorandum of the nineteen, which promises to be the subject of active controversy. The nineteen want the control of customs and tariffs, whereas Lord Islington, in his speech, specially mentions customs as one of the subjects to be under the exclusive control of the Government of India. We can understand the anxiety of the popular representatives in India to gain absolute control over the customs, especially after the recent controversies regarding the cotton duties. We can also understand the difficulties that the British Government have in transferring this particular branch of administration to the popular representatives in India. This was one of the details, which gave considerable trouble in settling the form of the Irish Home Rule Bill. In 1886, after a good deal of discussion between the Liberal and Irish leaders, Mr. Parnell himself gave up the demand for the Irish Parliament to have the control of customs. Subsequently, Mr. Parnell had considersble difficulties in persuading his own followers to accept this position. But he did persuade them, and we believe, up to this day, in none of the Home Rule Bills that were framed, it was proposed to hand over the customs to the Irish Parliament. But customs, so far as India is concerned, will be even a more difficult subject than in the case of Ireland, and we are afraid that the demand for the control of customs is one of those that will never be conceded. However, that is a matter of detail, which need only be discussed when complete Self-Government is granted to India. It does not arise now, and it certainly cannot be one of the powers that may be transferred to the control of non-official representatives as an experimental measure. In fact, the Government of India, as it would be under a decentralised scheme, would not have any powers, which, for some time at all events, can be transferred to the control of the non-officials. Therefore, we do not think any drastic changes are possible in the Government of India at present. The Imperial Legislative Council, like the Local Councils, may be enlarged, in order to enable adequate representation of all classes and communities in India, as well as to afford a training ground for a large number of non-officials; but there we will have to stop for the present.

NATIVE STATES

The subject of Native States has been mentioned by Lord Islington, and some Indian critics have assumed that the Native States cannot possibly complicate the reform

proposals, as the Political Department is proposed to be vested in the Government of India. That is reasonable. But if the proposals of the nineteen are carried into effect, the Government of India itself will undergo a radical alteration, and in the place of the Viceroy and his European official colleagues, you may have a Government of India constituted of a Prime Minister and his colleagues, drawn from the ranks of the Indian non-officials, with the Viceroy only acting in the capacity of the representative of the Sovereign and having nothing to do with the Executive Government of India. Under such a system, the question of the relation of the Native States to British India will assume a somewhat difficult character. Of course, even under such a system it is possible to devise a small Cabinet, working under the Viceroy, dealing with the subjects, which are entirely out of the jurisdiction of the Legislative Council and the Executive Government of India. Foreign relations, the Army and the Navy may well come under such a Cabinet. But whatever may be done, we quite agree with Lord Islington that these Native States must come into any scheme of political reconstruction that may be adopted in India "of their own free will," that their treaty rights must be scrupulously respected and that nothing must be done to impair the personal link which binds them to the Crown.

SECRETARY OF STATE'S COUNCIL

Before we leave the subject of the Government of India, we should like to say a word about the Council of the Secretary of State. There is a good deal of difference of opinion regarding the Council of the Secretary of State. The orthodox official opinion is that the Council is a highly useful institution, which ought to be encouraged and preserved. At the other extreme, we have the radical Indian opinion, that the Council is a source of much mischief and ought to be abolished at the earliest opportunity. To decide between these extreme views, you must first of all decide as to what is to be the position of the Secretary of State for India in the future system of Indian administration. If he is to continue, as he is at present, with power to interfere in the administration of this country, he must have a Council to help him. You cannot expect a British statesman, with not even a nodding acquaintance with India, to supervise, actively supervise, the administration of India, without somebody with Indian experience to advise him. While, on the other hand, if, in future, the Secretary of State for India s to have only such powers at the Colonial Secretary has

over the Colonies, then there is no necessity whatever for him to have a Council to advise him. A Council, like that of the Secretary of State for India, will be very much what the Secretary of State makes it. It entirely depends on the kind of people who are selected as its members. If men are selected to that Council, simply because they have survived the indian climate for 35 years and are drawing a pension from the Government of India, then the Council will be a sort of "pinjrapole" for retired officials. But, on the other hand, if men are picked out for their ability, experience, sympathy and character, the Council would become a highly useful body. If the council is to be retained, it certainly ought to be reformed. But we ourselves hope that the active interference of the Secretary of State with the administration of India will be abolished and with it the Council of the Secretary of State.

REPRESENTATION IN IMPERIAL FEDERATION

In the Memorandum of the nineteen the signatories demanded that, in any scheme of Imperial Federation, India should be given, through her chosen representatives, a place similar to that of the self-governing Dominions. There is very little necessity to discuss this question, as the demand has already been conceded. By the selection of Sir S. P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir to represent India at the Imperial Conference, the claim of India to an equal place with the self-governing Dominions has been recognized, and we are sure that, in any further future development of Imperial Federation, India will have a permanent and honourable place. When India does attain absolute Self-Government, the Indian representatives to the Imperial Federation will be selected by her parliamentary bodies, but, until such time arrives, the selection of imperial representatives from India should not be left to the unfettered choice of the so-called electorates which exist now. A great deal of dissatisfaction was expressed in certain quarters at the selection of Sir S. P. Sinha by the Government to represent India at the Imperial Conference. The Home Rule politicians wanted the representative to be elected by themselves. We are absolutely certain that, if those bodies had been permitted to elect a representative, the choice would not have fallen on Sir S. P. Sinha. One of the Home Rule agitators may possibly have been elected—perhaps Mrs. Besant—in which case, we do not know if the cause of imperial unity and harmony would have received the same impetus as it did under the guidance of Sir S. P. Sinha. But, however, whatever the method of selection in India may be,

the fact remains that Great Britain has acknowledged the right of India to have an equal place with the self-governing Colonies in any scheme of Imperial Federation. Not knowing what the exact details of the future scheme of Imperial Federation are, we are not in a position to suggest the place that India should occupy in working out these details. We presume that the future scheme of Imperial Federation will roughly consist in the creation of an Imperial Parliament in London, charged with purely Imperial affairs, while the component parts of the British Empire are granted their own parliaments to deal with local affairs. If such an Imperial Parliament consists of two Houses, we maintain that India should be represented in both. Under the scheme of decentralisation, which we have already sketched, the Secretary of State deprived of all his powers of direct interference with the Government of India, the question of the Imperial Parliament directly interfering with the Government of India will not arise. The extreme Home Rulers may claim that in the Imperial Parliament India should receive representation proportionate to her population, in other words, India should rule the British Empire. The demand would be what Lord Morley once called crying for the moon. The less moonstruck of public men in India will be satisfied with a reasonable representation of India in the Imperial Parliament. We ourselves consider that the representation in the Imperial Parliament of all the component parts of the British Empire should be equal, large and small parts, irrespective of their size and population, sending the same number of representatives. These details, however, can be settled at the proper time. For the present, we have only thankfully to acknowledge the recognition granted to India as a member of the British Commonwealth equal in position to that of any Colony.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

From Imperial Federation we go to the opposite end of Local Self-Government. The nineteen demand that a full measure of Local Self Government should be immediately granted. Lord Islington, in his speech at Oxford, also emphasised the fact that the immediate development should begin in the Panchayats, in Municipalities and in District Boards. There is no denying the fact that in the past the governments in India have not done all that was in their power to develop Local Self-Government. These institutions have not been worked in the spirit in which Lord Ripon inaugurated them. With a little less of interference in the details of the administration of local bodies on the part of

the Government, considerable advance could have been made by this time. Unnecessary interference in details has had a twofold depressing effect on the development of municipal institutions. It kept away from municipal bodies capable and leading public men, who were not anxious to be members of local bodies only to be ordered about by a Collector or a Deputy Collector. It also deprives local bodies of that sense of responsibility and power of initiative, the development of which alone would help the successful evolution of local bodies, Even now, on the eve of fresh legislation to remodel local bodies, we are not convinced that the Government view the question from the right point of view. The Decentralisation Commission have laid down correct lines, on which local bodies in this country ought to be evolved in the future. Any departure from these lines in future legislation regarding these bodies will spell failure. The Government must bear in mind that any delay in the proper development of municipal institutions will only increase the demand for immediate Home Rule and such other impossible reforms. It is the old socialistic cry of reform delayed is revolution begun. We have ourselves no doubt that the extraordinary delay in developing municipal institutions—for, our present District Municipalities are practically the same as they were in the time of Lord Ripon—has been a contributory cause of the present violent political agitation. We hope that the Government will keep this fact in view and will not persist in their tendency to obstruct the development of local bodies.

AVOID HASTE

We have already observed that we are entirely at one with the signatories of the Memorandum of the nineteen in their demand for the removal of disabilities with regard to the Arms Act, Volunteering and Commissions in the army for Indians. We have only now to bring to the notice of our readers the advice given by Lord Islington. His Lordship advised his audience at Oxford to avoid haste Lord Islington said—"The world to-day has a tragic lesson presented to it, a lesson, of which all responsible leaders in every country must take account. Russia, in her effort to extricate herself from an autocratic system, has allowed herself to be hurled headlong into anarchy by the extremists of her country. I would, therefore, earnestly and sympathetically say to those in India, who to-day are advocating extreme measures of reform, to be patient, to be reasonable. Limit your influence and assistance to those measures, which are practical towards the solution of the problem. The end

in view can best be reached by gradual and moderate steps. It is suggested by some that nothing short of constitutional Self-Government should suffice and that this should be established in India at an early date. You cannot transform a highly centralised bureaucracy into a set of decentralised Self-Government systems in the passing of a night. If any British Government were to attempt such a task, were to allow themselves in a nervous spirit to act against their judgment and experience in the face of agitation, they would indeed betray the trust that has been imposed upon them." No more eloquent words could describe the present situation. A British Government, which, in a nervous spirit and in deference to an agitation, gives in to the demand of immediate Home Rule for India, will not only betray its trust to the British nation, but would also betray the many millions in India, who will be handed over to the care of a close and relentless oligarchy, and whose only fault has been their placing too great a confidence in the British Government. At the height of the Irish Home Rule agitation we remember the description used by leading Conservative statesmen of what would happen if Home Rule were granted to Ireland. One very eminent Conservative statesman said that the Gladstonians were marching through blood and rapine to the disintegration of the Empire. The description may with equal force be applied to the present case. The withdrawal or weakening of British power in India at the present time must certainly destroy all the forces of civilised government that have been brought into existence in India by its British administrators. Anarchy is bound to take the place of orderly progress. We are convinced that neither the British nation nor any responsible British administrator will be a party to such a catastrophic change. We do not contemplate the possibility of such a change In 1886, when Mr. Gladstone suddenly made up his mind to grant Home Rule for Ireland, we are told that the British public were struck with consternation, and in spite of the great personality of Mr. Gladstone, the change that he contemplated thirty-one years ago has not yet come into practical operation. There is no towering personality in British politics to-day like that of William Ewart Gladstone, and the attempts of puny politicians of the present day, to try a similar experiment to that tried by mighty Gladstone himself on a country, which is perhaps divided into 200 sections, instead of into 2 as in Ireland, would mean absolute disaster to their own political career.

Secretary of State's Announcement.

SIMLA, 20th AUGUST 1917

The Gazette of India Extraordinary issued late this evening publishes the following notification :—

The following announcement is being made this day by the Secretary of State for India in the House Of Commons and is published for general information ;—

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development ot self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substancial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance, as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be, that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at Home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss the matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the view of local governments and to receive with him the suggestions of representative bodies and others. I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of Indian people, must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by co-operation received from those, upon whom new opportunity of service will thus be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence could be reposed in their sense of responsibility. Ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals, which will be submitted in due course to Parliament".

Addresses to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State

In pursuance of the Announcement of 20th August, 1927, Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, and Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, arrived in Madras on Friday, 14th December, 1917. A large number of deputations waited on them during their stay of Madras, to represent their views on constitutional reform. Amongst the deputations, four represented the non-Brahmins of this presidency.

Madras Presidency Association

The first of the four deputations was that of the Madras Presidency Association, headed by Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai. This deputation was received on 17th December, 1917. Mr. Kesava Pillai read the following address :—

"We, the members of the Madras Presidency Association, offer our humble and heartfelt welcome to Your Excellency and to you, Sir, on your historic visit to our city and the presidency. Prominent and leading men representing every interest and every community, except our fellow-countrymen, Brahmins and Musalmans, in this city and presidency, are members of this association. We take this opportunity to reiterate, on behalf of the communities we represent, our wholehearted allegiance and affectionate and loyal attachment to the person and the throne of our beloved King Emperor ; and our heartfelt prayers and steadfast determination to see His Majesty's arms crowned with complete victory. Had a policy of generous trust and treatment in enlisting and training the manhood of India been pursued, the terrible war would have long ago ended in the complete overthrow of the German militarism.

"That, preoccupied as they are with the tremendous task of bringing the gigantic war to a successful and glorious termination in the interests of humanity and civilisation, H.M.'s Government should have delegated you, Sir, agreeably to the wishes of H E. our noble Viceroy, to enquire into the political demands of the Indian people, with a view to satisfy the same, fills the hearts of our people with gratitude, and strengthens our faith that the great British people are determined to apply the high and enduring British principles

of Government in the ordering and ruling of the various races inhabiting this ancient and civilised land, for their political development and advancement, to promote their true well-being and contentment, so that they too may shoulder the responsibility of working out their own destinies with the sympathetic help and guidance of the Great British democracy, and bear the burden, as equal partners in the greatest of empires, which stands for justice and liberty to small nations and weaker peoples. We cannot be too thankful to you, Sir, for the high and sacred mission you have undertaken to ascertain direct our sentiments and wishes, to advise H. M. Government in shaping the inevitable post-war reforms, so as to give adequate scope to our legitimate ambitions and aspirations in the Government of our own country, and bind to the British people, in silken bonds of trust and justice, their confiding and loyal Indian fellow-subjects.

"We would respectfully draw your attention to the memorandum herewith submitted of our reasoned and earnest views on the post-war reforms. We fully endorse and adhere to the basic principles of the scheme of reforms submitted by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, the two great political organisations, which represent all that is best, noblest and wisest in this great country. We are anxious, however, that due and adequate representation of the varied interests and communities we represent should be secured in the contemplated reforms, so that no talent might rust for lack of opportunity to serve in the great nation-building that is proceeding apace under the British rule, and no interest might suffer for want of proper representation in the councils of the Empire. We are fully confident that you, Sir, as H. M. Secretary of State, with your intimate knowledge of the problems of the Indian administration, deepened and broadened as it is with that element of sympathy, which our beloved King-Emperor loves to see practised by every Briton treading the soil of India, will not fail to be impressed with the urgent need of introducing substantial reforms as a first step expected of Great Britain; and, when you return to England, you will, by the grace of Providence, urge and guide aright H. M.'s Government in their decisions so as to fulfil our long cherished hopes and inspire us to strive and grow to the full measure of real British citizenship and add to the strength of the Empire.

"We, in conclusion, pray for the safe return to England of you and your companions, and for health and strength to

Your Excellency to pursue your noble policy of justice and conciliation so as to ensure the rapid progress and contentment and thus win the esteem and confidence of the people of India."

Mr. Kesava Pillai then introduced the following other members of his Association :—The Rev Dr. J. Lazarus, Rao Sahib M. C. T. Muthiah Chetti, Mr. Lakshmi Narayana Chetti, Mr. A. N Parasurama Naicker, Mr. Mukanna Chari, Mr V Chakkarai Chetti, Mr. D. K. Asher, Mr. B. Daga and Mr. S. A. Singh.

The other three deputations, which consisted in all of 56 members, were jointly introduced, and they were those of the South Indian Liberal Federation, headed by Dewan Bahadur P. Rajaratna Mudaliar, C. I. E., the Dravidian Association, led by Mr. P. Ramarayaningar, and the Non-Brahmin communities, headed by Rao Bahadur R. Venkataratnam Naidu. Dr. T. M Nair was a member of the deputation of the South Indian Liberal Federation.

The South Indian Liberal Federation.

Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti read the address of the South Indian Liberal Federation, which was as follows :—

"We, members of the South Indian Liberal Federation, understand that a memorandum signed by 19 non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council has been submitted to you through the Viceroy, demanding certain political reforms to be brought into force after the war. The proposals in the said memorandum have since been accepted by the originators of the Home Rule movement in India as equivalent to their demands. Your memorialists feel constrained to strike a discordant note, as, otherwise, from previous experience, they are afraid that it will be made out that the demand has behind it the united voice of the people of India. The proposals embodied in the memorandum of the nineteen, if given effect to, will, in our opinion, tend to weaken the British authority in India and thereby jeopardise the interests of the large and hitherto inarticulate masses of the country. We are not in favour of any measure, which, in operation, is designed or tends completely to undermine the influence and authority of the British rulers, who alone, in the present conditions and the circumstances of India, are able to hold the scales even between creeds and classes, and to develop that sense of unity and national solidarity, without which India will continue to be a congeries of mutually exclusive and warring creeds without

a common purpose and a common patriotism. We do not believe that the time has come for anything like Home Rule to be granted to India. The large majority of the population of this country are not educated enough to use any political power that may be given to them with wisdom and discrimination, nor have they any political tradition to guide them; and they are unwilling that, till they are educated up to a standard that will help them to take an intelligent interest in the Government of the country by the discriminate use of the franchise that may be given to them, their destiny should be handed over to the care of a small section of the Indian population, though men are not wanting among themselves who can fairly take their legitimate share in the councils and administration of the country in any scheme of reforms which may reasonably meet the actual needs of the hour. The majority of the people in this presidency, who demanded Home Rule at the present time, belong to the class of Brahmins; but not less than 40 out of 41.1/9 millions, who form the population of this presidency, are non-Brahmins, who, including, as they do, zamindars, landholders and agriculturists and owning the bulk of the property in the province, pay practically the whole of the taxes collected in the presidency, which go to maintain the Government, but in what passes for politics in Madras they have not taken the part to which they are entitled. They have made little or no use of their influence among the masses for the general political advancement of the country. In these days of organised effort they have not maintained till very recently any proper organisation for protecting and promoting their common interests and for preventing professional and other politicians, with hardly any corresponding stake in the country, posing as their accredited spokesmen. Under these conditions, we are afraid that, if Home Rule or Self-Government were granted to India at the present time, the Government would pass into the hands of a close oligarchy unfit either by tradition or training for wielding political power, and thus the interests of the masses would suffer.

"We are, however, in favour of progressive political development, of a well defined policy of trust in the people, qualified by prudence, and of timely and liberal concessions in the wake of proved fitness. We would advocate, as the first measure of reform after the war, an extension of local self-government by the creation of municipalities and local boards with powers to manage their own affairs, liberated from the leading strings of Government. Secondly, it is

necessary that stringent rules should be framed to secure due and adequate representation of all communities and interests in all branches of administration. In this connection, we note with satisfaction the acceptance of this principle in the majority report of the Public Service Commission. In the third place, we should like to see the Legislative Councils in India enlarged in order to secure in those councils adequate representation of all communities and interests; and with a view to have the necessary political training for the representatives of the various communities, we would emphasise the necessity of extending the franchise and establishing a system of direct elections in the place of the present indirect method of elections through local bodies. In the present condition of India, the franchise should be established on a communal basis, as, otherwise, it will be impossible to secure proper representation of the different communities, particularly in this province, where the conditions are entirely different from those of all the other provinces, on account of the absolute predominance of the ancient ideas of the superiority of the priestly class over all others, and where, owing to the recently acquired Brahminical ascendancy in the bureaucracy, the franchise, distributed on any but communal basis, cannot but be inequitable and is sure to lead to the oppression of the masses. The Legislative Councils have existed for some time, fulfilling their functions as advisory councils. The time has come when an advance might be made and the councils endowed with a certain degree of responsibility with regard to selected branches of administration. We suggest that, as an experimental method, the departments of local self-government (including primary education), sanitation, agriculture and co-operative credit and industries may be placed under the control of the Legislative Councils, expenses of which departments being met from assigned revenues, which must be ample and of a progressive character. The other departments should continue to be directed as at present, the Legislative Councils retaining their present advisory powers. We are also of opinion that the Executive Councils of the Provincial Governors might be enlarged and provision made for half the number of the members of the Executive Council being selected from non-official Indians. We do not approve of the policy of the non-official members of the Legislative Council electing members of the Executive Council and forcing them on the head of the Government, who, after all, is responsible for the administration of the country. This method is likely to create friction in the Executive Council and to result in

undermining the influence and the authority of the head of the Government. Neither are we in favour of reproducing in Indian Legislative Councils the British parliamentary system whereby the House of Commons can deal with all supplies. It will be time enough, we think, to introduce such a system when the Legislative Councils are given the power to form, and contain the elements for forming, an alternative government when the government in power is defeated on any of its financial proposals.

"In conclusion, we request that, before any definite action is taken, the Government will examine the interests and wishes of each important class and community with anxious care and in a less conventional manner than has been done till now. Until social exclusiveness and the rigidity of class and caste disappear, progress towards self-government in India ought to be slow. We beg to impress on you the necessity for consulting the opinion of other and more important interests than those of the Congress and the Muslim League, which are now entirely guided by a body of "impatient idealists" who in no way represent the mass of the people of this country, before finally deciding the form and extent of the political reforms that are to be conceded to India."

The Madras Dravidian Association

Mr. P. Ramarayaningar read the address of the Madras Dravidian Association, which was as follows :—

"On behalf of the Madras Dravidian Association, we beg to submit the following views regarding the circumstances and needs of the non-Brahmin communities of Southern India. Though forming the majority of the population and also the wealth-producing section thereof, non-Brahmins have not had their due share in shaping the policy and conducting the administration of the state. This is due to their not having availed themselves of educational facilities provided by the Government as much as the Brahmins, who, having had no share in the wealth-producing vocations, but possessing hereditary aptitude for study, availed themselves of these facilities. Being an exclusive class, endowed by traditions with a kind of religious authority in this land, they used their opportunity to aggrandise themselves at the expense of other classes. It has become difficult for non-Brahmin classes to get the opportunity to educate themselves to the same extent as the Brahmins. It is our desire that Government must look into this question and see if there are hindrances to the educational progress

of non-Brahmins other than their own inertia. It is our conviction that there are. If so, we pray Government to remove them. This applies not only to the education of men but also of women. The Widows Home in Madras was originally started for widows of all classes. It has now become the refuge of Brahmin women to the exclusion of non-Brahmins. When the trust property belonging to temples is diverted for educational purposes, the education imparted is confind to Brahmins, though the funds have been contributed chiefly, almost wholly, by non-Brahmins. It should be made a rule that, whenever such diversion of funds takes place, the education given should be such as would meet the needs of all classes of people, and especially of the educationally backward classes. This would be more in consonance with the spirit of the charities than the benefiting of any particular class.

"It should be the special and direct aim of Government to see that all educationally backward classes are brought into line with classes which, having gone forward, now stand in the way of other classes. Scholarships in schools and colleges are now distributed without any regard to communities which enjoy the benefit. Scholarships should be used not merely as an incentive to individuals but an inducement to communities. Backward communities should not be dismissed with primary education, as if in those communities there are no individuals who have the capacity for receiving secondary and collegiate and professional education. The Government has till now been content to pursue a policy of "laissez faire" in matters educational. It should hereafter exert itself to see that every class gets the benefit of the best education that the state can give. This does not mean that education should be all literary. For boys coming from classes given to manual work there should be provided a number of schools in which the education imparted is partly literary and partly industrial. The Indian teachers employed in schools and colleges should belong to different communities and not to any one community, especially if they are such as looked down upon the children of other communities than their own. At present there is much difference shown by caste teachers in their treatment of children. There are some schools in which admission is barred to children of depressed classes. This is an inequity which ought to be put a stop to. Such schools ought not receive grants from Government. Another even more palpable form of social injustice is that these depressed classes are prohibited from using wells, tanks and roads, which are maintained out of

public funds. A similar manipulation of civil laws is to be observed in a Brahmin organisation in this presidency, called the Dharma Rakshana Sabha, whose aim and the effect of whose activities are the transfer of the management of temples and choultries built and endowed by non-Brahmins to Brahmin lawyers and their nominees. It should be clearly laid down that the management of charities should be vested in the members of the community which has supplied the funds. From what we have said, it is clear that the British administration of this country is warped by the influence of a theocratic oligarchy, which, adopting the forms of British policy, infuses its selfish spirit into all the transactions of the Government. It was this theocratic oligarchy which stood in the way of the permissive bill introduced by the Hon. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu in the Imperial Legislative Council for dispensing with religious tests in civil marriages being passed. It is this theocratic oligarchy which bars progress of other communities in public services and in public bodies. We refer to all these inequalities and hardships, partly in the hope that steps will be taken to rectify them, and partly with the object of showing how, if Home Rule is introduced at present, the sufferings of educationally backward classes will be increased tenfold. Whatever reforms may be introduced in this country, nothing should be done to weaken British authority, or to change the British character of the administration, or to concentrate power in any particular class to the detriment of other classes."

The Non-Brahmin Communities

Rao Bahadur R. Venkataratnam Naidu and Mr. A. P. Patro read between them the address of the non-Brahmin communities, which was in these terms;—

"We, the representatives of most of the non-Brahmin communities in the Madras Presidency, beg to offer you a hearty welcome to this presidency and to place before you our views on some of the important questions that are engaging your attention at the present time We beg leave to express our gratitude to the British cabinet, to H. E. the Viceroy and to yourself for the announcement made by you in the House of Commons on the 20th of August last, accepting responsible government under the British banner as the goal of reforms in the Indian administration, and declaring that substantial steps would be taken as soon as possible. Several schemes have been prepared as to the powers and privileges that ought to be granted as the first instalment of the declared policy. The scheme most prominent is the one

that goes in the name of the Congress and Muslim League. As we are not in accord with some of the important proposals contained therein, we take the liberty of approaching you with the following representation. Owing to various causes, most of the power and influence has, in the present system of administration of this province, become centred in the hands of a small community, which numbered only 1,167,095, according to the census of 1911, out of a total population of 41,870,160 in this presidency. In spite of the influence of western education and of more than a century of benign British rule, the vigour and exclusiveness of the caste system has not appreciably weakened, with the result that there is very little in common between those who chiefly wield the power at present and the others who are left now behind in the race. While the advantages of place and power are mostly enjoyed by this one community, the cost of administration is borne mostly by the others. These others, who, in brief, may be described as the non-Brahmins of this province, including, as they do, zamindars, landholders, agriculturists, merchants and traders, own the bulk of the property in the province. Practically the whole of the trade in Indian hands is in the possession of the non-Brahmins. Nevertheless, these non-Brahmins are not duly represented either in the services or in the Legislative Councils of the province. Taking the whole presidency, in the last election, out of the seats thrown upon to Local Boards and Municipalities and the Madras Corporation, nine seats were secured by the Brahmins and only one went to a non-Brahmin. The fact that the majority of the voters were non-Brahmins proved no guarantee for the success of the non-Brahmin candidates, for the reason, that, both among the lawyers and the Indian officials, the Brahmins predominate and their influence in this matter was the decisive factor in the result of the elections. All the three seats in the Imperial Legislative Council opened to Indians generally in the Madras Presidency, are at present held by Brahmins. In India, a Government appointment, besides giving administrative experience, is the source of great power and influence, and gives the holder of the appointment a status unheard of in other countries.

"If the present system should be continued, we are afraid that power will increasingly concentrate in the hands of one community to the entire detriment and disadvantage of all other communities, forming 97 per cent. of the population. It cannot be denied that the Brahmins form an exclusive

community and their interests are often not identical with those of others. Most of the Brahmins being engaged in learned professions and public services, their knowledge of agriculture and trade, the main profession of the bulk of the population, is inadequate We crave leave to point out that it is not in the general interest of the country and Government to allow power and influence to be centred in a small and exclusive community. We, therefore, sincerely believe that any scheme of reforms, either of the councils of the country or of the public services, in which due and adequate representation is not given to the great non-Brahmin communities of this province, regard being had to the peculiar conditions the numbers the tax-paying capacity and the vested interests of these communities, is bound to end in failure, and will lead to discontent and disharmony. Taking into consideration these special circumstances, among others, representatives of most of the non-Brahmin communities in the six Coast Districts, who met at Bezwada on 11th November, 1917, passed the resolutions appended. (The resolutions are published elsewhere in the book.) Practically, the same scheme was accepted by the Non-Brahmin District Conference held at Coimbatore on 19th and 20th August, 1917, and that at Bikkavole (Godavari) on 27th and 28th October, 1917. And, so far as has been ascertainable, the views embodied in these resolutions are held by a very large majority of the n n-Brahmins of this presidency.

The other addresses presented to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State in Madras were chiefly from the following bodies :—

(1)—THE CATHOLIC INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN INDIA

This Association was established in 1899. The Most Reverend John Aelen, Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Madras, is the President.

This Association was opposed to any weakening of British control in India and considered that the country was unfit for complete self-government, but it looked forward to Indians being given an ever-increasing share in the administration, and claimed for the community, which it represented, its due place in such advance which can only be secured on a basis of communal representation.

(2)—INDIAN CHRISTIANS OF THE PRESIDENCY OF MADRAS

They put forward a scheme based on these principles:—(1) Expansion of the Legislative Councils; (2) an effective voice in some departments of the administration; and (3) communal representation. They were thus in agreement with the views of the Catholic Indian Association in regard to the main principles of reform, though differing in some matters of detail.

"To a total population of over three and a half millions of Indian Christians for the whole of India, according to the census of 1911, we contribute over two millions and three lakhs. Our percentage of literacy stands higher than that of Hindus and Muhammadans, and in female education we easily hold the first place among the leading communities and have contributed not a little to the spread of the benefits of western education among the women of other classes of our country through the efforts of Indian Christian women teachers. These, among other considerations, have induced us to seek for separate communal representation."

(3)—THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY MUSLIM LEAGUE

Their address reiterated the Congress-Muslim League Scheme with slight variations, the most important of which were:—

(1) The claim that one seat on Executive Councils should be reserved for a Muhammadan.

(2) The demand that any Resolution or Bill brought forward in a provincial Legislative Council by a Muhammadan, and affecting Muslim interests only, should not, if supported by three-fourths of the Muhammadans, be liable to defeat by a non-Muslim majority.

(4)—THE SOUTH INDIA ISLAMIA LEAGUE

This League was founded at the end of 1917 by Madras Muhammadans, who considered that the acceptance of the Congress-League Scheme would be to the prejudice of their community.

In their address they expressed a complete lack of sympathy with Congress-Muslim League Scheme, which, in their view, would tend to weaken the authority of the British Government in India. They were not opposed to all reforms, but advocated a gradual advance and demanded adequate

safeguards in the interests of minorities. They would increase the membership of Executive Councils and reserve one seat on these councils for Muhammadans. They would also enlarge the Legislative Councils and make them more representative, reserving for Muhammadans a proportion of seats commensurate with their political importance. They considered that Legislative Councils should remain advisory bodies and should not be entrusted with financial control or with the right to elect members of Executive Councils, who should invariably be nominated.

(5)—THE MUTHIALPET MUSLIM ANJUMAN

This is a Muhammadan society established in 1913 in Madras City with mainly educational purposes. The address expressed the same views as those put forward by the South Indian Islamia League.

"It is our firm conviction that in India, where there are so many conflicting religious interests and prejudices, the Britisher alone can hold the scales even between the various communities. Whenever our interests collide with those of other communities, it is to him we look up as the embodiment of justice and fairplay. Whatever reforms may be introduced, we trust that nothing will be done to undermine the authority of the British Government in India. We are also averse to the power of the purse being vested in Legislative Councils, as we fear it will be used to coerce Government and to favour particular interests. Nor should Executive Councillors be elected by members of these Legislative Councils. Muhammadans, being necessarily in the minority, will have no chance of their representatives being elected Executive Councillors.

"Our sympathies are entirely with the non-Brahmins of Southern India in their endeavour to secure adequate representation for all communities both in Legislative Councils and in public services. If political power is concentrated in any particular class, there is always the danger of that class keeping it to itself and thus causing discontent in others. If, on the other hand, political power is fairly and widely distributed, we may, speaking from our knowledge of the people of Southern India, say that Muhammadans will have a good chance of obtaining equitable treatment."

(6)—THE ZAMINDARS AND LANDED PROPRIETORS OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

A large number of Zamindars who disapproved of a draft address passed by a majority at a meeting of the Madras Landholders' Association in support of the Congress-League Scheme, presented a separate address.

They put forward claims, very similar to those of the landed interests in Bengal and the United Provinces.

"All Provincial Legislative Councils in India should be enlarged on as broad franchise as possible, having a substantial majority of elected representatives, the various communities in the country being adequately represented by separate communal representation and minorities being properly safeguarded.

"In view of the large stake which the hereditary nobility and landowners have in this country, they should have the power to return to the Provincial Legislative Councils at least one-fifth of the total number of members constituting them."

(7)—THE MADRAS ADI-DRAVIDA JANA SABHA

This Association, founded in 1892, was formed to further the interests of the "Adi" or original Dravidans, these classes claiming to number six millions in the Madras Presidency, who are outside the pale of caste and are commonly described as Paraiyas or Panchamans. The Association has promoted Panchama meetings in opposition to Home Rule. The members of the deputation were small traders, landholders, teachers and journalists. They desired social uplift rather than constitutional reform. They were strongly opposed to the Home Rule propaganda and asked for further protection from Brahman intolerance, their great need being education They asked for special representation in local bodies and also in the Legislative Councils, and communal representation in any scheme of reform that may be given to the country as a whole.

(8)—THE ANDHRA CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

The one request put forward in the address was that the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency should be formed into a separate province administered by a Governor in Council. The memorandum set forth at some length the advantages which, it was claimed, would result from such an arrangement.

"While we are in full agreement with the scheme of reforms formulated by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League in December 1916, we consider that the question of the reorganisation of provinces is intimately connected with any scheme of self-government for India, and that the benefits of provincial autonomy can only be fully realised by a redistribution of the provinces in India on a linguistic basis."

ADDRESSES NOT FORMALLY PRESENTED

Amongst the addresses not formally presented through deputations were the following:—

(1) The Yadakula Maha Sangam, of the Yadava community, said to number 1½ millions in South India, are opposed to Home Rule as premature and the demand of "a minor section of the educated classes." They desire power to remain in British hands, and humbly ask for better representation on legislative and local bodies and in the public bodies and in the public service.

(2) The Panchama Kalvi Abivirthi-Abimana Sanga deprecate political change and desire only to be saved from the Brahmin, whose motive in seeking a greater share in the Government is described as that of "the cobra seeking the charge of a young frog."

(3) The Oppressed Classes of South India regard Home Rule as premature, and as likely to increase their own disabilities, relief from which they seek in certain specified directions—education, communal representation, temperance reform, &c.

(4) The Lingayat community of the Madras Presidency, said to number about 5,00,000, ask for separate representation on local bodies and the Madras Council, and for free education and a greater share in the public service.

(5) The Indian Christians of Vellore regard self-government as their ultimate goal, but consider an advance towards Home Rule now premature and dangerous. They seek special representation on local bodies and the Councils of the Empire.

(6) The Indian Christians of Trichinopoly hold the same views as regards Home Rule, which they regard as the demand of a small minority, and compare it, if granted, to a loaded revolver in a child's hand. They claim for themselves adequate representation on the Indian and provincial councils, and advocate communal representation and wider employment in the public service as the means of educating Indians to responsibility.

(7) The Viswa Brahmanas of the Godavari, Kistna, Guntur and Nellore districts view with alarm any transference of power from British to Brahmin hands They seek educational advancement and special representation

(8 The Viswa Brahman Mahajana Central Sabha—an organisation of craftsmen—ask for responsible government at an early date, as more likely than the present system to foster industrial prosperity and the upraising of a fallen community. As a first step, they ask for representation on all elective bodies in accordance with their numbers

(9) The Nattukottai Chetti community support the proposals of the Nineteen Members, with two reservations—that the Head of the Government should remain President of the Legislative Council, and that members of Executive Councils should be members, included in the non-elected one-fifth of the Legislative Council. They also demand representation of minorities, including their own

(10) The Arya Vysya community support the Congress-League scheme, but add a claim for special seats of their own on the Provincial and Imperial Councils.

(11) The Vaidika Vidwath Paripalaka Sabha (Vaidik Brahmans) urge special representation on the Imperial and Madras Councils of orthodox Hindu interests.

(12) The Vighanasa Brahamana community (temple priests) ask for a nominated representative on Legislative Councils until they can return their own member by election.

(13) The Ezhuvas (palm-tappers) base a claim for representation (nominated) on the Councils, if reformed, on the alleged prejudicial effect of the Abkari Act on their community. They also advocate the separation of judicial and executive functions, and communal representation for minorities.

(14) The Tiyya community (also palm-tappers) follow the lines of Ezhuvas.

(15) The Nadar community seek seats of their own on the Indian and Provincial Legislative Councils and on the Provincial Executive Council, with increased nomination on all elective bodies.

(16) The Chattada Srivaishnava community adopt the Congress-League Scheme with certain modifications, notably that there should be communal representation on the Indian Legislative Council and that education and local self-government should be controlled by the elected members of the Legislative Councils immediately after the war.

(17) The Nambudri Yogakshema Sabha—a Brahmin organization of the landed aristocracy of the West Coast—support a scheme such as that of the Congress-League, which should be introduced "with proper safeguards and necessary precautions" such as protection of rights in property and special representation for landholders, including their own representative on the Indian and Provincial Councils.

(18) The Marawar Mahajanam of Trichinopoly, Madura, Ramnad, Tinnevelly, Tanjore and Coimbatore seek the amelioration of their backward condition by means of educational facilities and special representation. They are opposed to immediate Home Rule, but desire gradual advance towards self-government.

(19) The Jains of South India seek separate representation on the Indian and Provincial Councils.

(20) The Buddhists of South India consider the Nineteen Members' scheme and other similar schemes to be premature, and not a popular demand. The crying need is the abolition of the caste system, and spread of education.

Of the Reform Schemes considered by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State two require special mention—the Congress-Muslim League scheme of 1916 and the Scheme outlined by Gokhale before his demise in February 1915.

Scheme of Reforms adopted by the Indian National Congress and All-India Muslim League, 1916

Resolution of the Indian National Congress

That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of ancient civilisations and have shown great capacity for government and administration, and to the progress in education and public spirit made by them during a century of British rule, and further having regard to the fact that the present system of Government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to existing conditions and requirements, the Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King-Emperor should be pleased to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer self-government on India at an early date.

That this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards self-government by granting the reforms contained in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League (detailed below.)

That, in the reconstruction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the self-governing dominions.

Resolution of the All-India Muslim League

That the All-India Muslim League, while adopting th scheme of reforms prepared by the Reform Committee of th League and approved by its Council, submits it, in conjunction with the Indian National Congress, to the Government for its introduction after the war as the first necessary step towards the establishment of complete self-government in India.

THE REFORM SCHEME.

I.—Provincial Legislative Councils.

(1) Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifth elected and of one-fifth nominated members.

(2) Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.

(3) The members of Councils should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible.

(4) Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions;—

Punjab	One half of the elected Indian members			
United Provinces	30 per cent.	"	"	"
Bengal	40 per cent.	"	"	"
Behar	25 per cent.	"	"	"
Central Provinces	15 per cent.	"	"	"
Madras	15 per cent.	"	"	"
Bombay	One-third	"	"	"

Provided that no Mahomedan shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except those by electorates representing special interests. Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution.

(5) The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council, but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

(6) The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original questions, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

(7) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, opium, railways, army and navy and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be Provincial. There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable

to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province, including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation and to vote on the budget. All items of expenditure and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue, should be embodied in bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

Resolutions on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself. A resolution passed by the Provincial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-in-Council, provided, however, that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

(8) A special meeting of the Provincial Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

(9) A bill, other than a money bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

(10) All bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

(11) The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II.—Provincial Governments

(1) The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor, who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

(2) There shall be in every province an Executive Council, which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

(3) Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

(4) Not less than one half of the members of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians, to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils.

(5) The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III.—Imperial Legislative Council.

(1) The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150

(2) Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

(3) The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the electorates for Mahamedans for the Provincial Legislative Councils, and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of members to the Imperial Legislative Council

(4) One-third of the Indian elected members should be Mahomedans, elected by separate Mahomedan electorates in the several provinces in the proportion, as nearly as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Mahomedan electorates.—Vide provisos to section I, clause 4

(5) The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

(6) The right of asking supplementary question shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

(7) A special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

(8) A bill, other than money bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor

(9) All bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

(10) All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in bills. Every such bill and the budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

(11) The term of office of members shall be five years.

(12) The matters mentioned hereinbelow shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council:—

Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations.

Questions affecting purely Imperial revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.

Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General-in-Council in respect of military charges for the defence of the country.

The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs duties, of imposing, altering, or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

(13) A resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government unless vetoed by the Governor-General-in-Council; provided, however, that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(14) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

(15) When the Crown chooses to exercise its power of vote in regard to a bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council, it should be exercised within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

(16) The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India, including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV.—The Government of India.

(1) The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

(2) He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

(3) The Indian members shall be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

(4) Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

(5) The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, due regard being paid to existing interests, subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council

(6) The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

(7) In legislative and administrative matters the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

(8) A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

V.—The Secretary of State in Council.

(1) The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.

(2) The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British estimates.

(3) The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does in relation to the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions.

(4) The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI.—India and the Empire.

(1) In any Council or other body, which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the Dominions and with equal rights.

(2) Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

VII.—Military and other Matters.

(1) The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

(2) Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers.

(3) Executive officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them, and the judiciary in every province shall be placed under the highest court of that province.

The above scheme was based chiefly upon the memorandum submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy by nineteen elected additional members of the Imperial Legislative Council with regard to post-war reforms, dated October 1916—Vide pages 30-35. The signatories to the memorandum were :—

Manindra Chandra Nandy.	Ibrahim Rahimtoola.
D. E. Wacha.	B. Narasimheswara Sarma.
Bhupendranath Basu.	Mir Asad Ali.
Bishan Dutt Shukul.	Kamini Kumara Chanda.
Madan Mohan Malaviya.	Krishna Sahay.
K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar.	R. N. Bhanja Deo of Kanika.
Mazharul Haque.	M. B. Dadabhoy.
V. S. Srinivasan.	Sita Nath Roy.
Tej Bahadur Sapru.	Mahamad Ali Mohamad.
	M. A. Jinnah.

Mr. Gokhale's Memorandum

Provincial Autonomy.

The grant of provincial autonomy foreshadowed in the Delhi Despatch would be a fitting concession to make to the people of India at the close of the war. This will involve the twofold operation of freeing the Provincial Governments, on the one side, from the greater part of the control which is at present exercised over them by the Government of India and the Secretary of State, in connection with the internal administration of the country, and substituting, on the other, in place of the control so removed, the control of the representatives of taxpayers through Provincial Legislative Councils. I indicate below, in brief outline, the form of administration that should be set up in the different provinces to carry out this idea. Each province should have :—

(1) A Governor appointed from England at the head of the administration.

(2) A Cabinet or Executive Council of six members, three of whom should be Englishmen and three Indians—with the following portfolios :—

- (a) Home (including Law and Justice) ;
- (b) Finance ;
- (c) Agriculture, Irrigation and Public Works ;
- (d) Education ;
- (e) Local Self-Government (including Sanitation and Medical Relief) ;
- (f) Industries and Commerce.

While members of the Indian Civil Service should be eligible for appointment to the Executive Council, no places in the Council should be reserved for them, the best men available being taken—both English and Indian.

(3) A Legislative Council of between 75 and 100 members, of whom not less than four-fifths should be elected by different constituencies and interests. Thus, in the Bombay Presidency, roughly speaking, each district should return two members, one representing municipalities and the other district and taluk boards. The City of Bombay should have about 10 members allotted to it. Bodies in the mofussil, like the Karachi Chamber, Ahmedabad mill-owners, Deccan Sardars should have a member each. Then there would be the special representation of Mahomedans, and here and there a member may have to be given to communities like the Lingayats, where they are strong. There should be no nominated non-official members, except as experts. A few official members may be added by the Governor as experts or to assist in representing the Executive Government.

(4) The relations between the Executive Government and the Legislative Council so constituted should be roughly similar to those between the Imperial Government and the Reichstag in Germany. The Council will have to pass all provincial legislation, and its assent will be necessary to additions to or changes in provincial taxation. The Budget, too, will have to come to it for discussion, and its resolutions in connection with it, as also on questions of general administration, will have to be given effect to, unless vetoed by the Governor. More frequent meetings or longer continuous sittings will also have to be provided for. But the members of the Executive Government shall not depend, individually or collectively, on the support of a majority of the Council for holding their offices.

(5) The Provincial Government, so reconstituted and working under the control of the Legislative Council as outlined above, should have complete charge of the internal administration of the province. And it should have virtually independent financial powers, the present financial relations between it and the Government of India being largely revised, and to some extent even reversed. The revenue under salt, customs, tributes, railways, post, telegraph, and mint should belong exclusively to the Government of India, the services being Imperial, while that under land revenue, including irrigation, excise, forest, assessed taxes, stamps, and registration, should belong to the Provincial Government—the services being provincial. As under this division the revenue falling to the Provincial Government will be in excess of its existing requirements and that assigned to the Government of India will fall short of its present expenditure, the Provincial

Government should be required to make an annual contribution to the Government of India, fixed for periods of five years at a time. Subject to this arrangement, the Imperial and the Provincial Governments should develop their separate systems of finance, the Provincial Government being given powers of taxation and borrowing within certain limits.

(6) Such a scheme of provincial autonomy will be incomplete unless it is accompanied by (a) a liberalising of the present form of district administration, and (b) a great extension of local self-government. For (a), it will be necessary to abolish the Commissionerships of divisions except where special reasons may exist for their being maintained, as in Sind, and to associate small district councils, partly elected and partly nominated, with the Collector, to whom most of the present powers of the Commissioners could then be transferred—the functions of the Councils being advisory to begin with. For (b), village panchayats, partly elected and partly nominated, should be created for villages or groups of villages, and municipal boards in towns and taluk boards in taluks should be made wholly elected bodies, the Provincial Government reserving to itself and exercising stringent powers of control. A portion of the excise revenue should be made over to these bodies, so that they may have adequate resources at their disposal for the due performance of their duties. The district being too large an area for efficient local self-government by an honorary agency, the functions of the district boards should be strictly limited and the Collector should continue to be its ex-officio president.

The Government of India.

(1) The provinces being thus rendered practically autonomous, the constitution of the Executive Council or the Cabinet of the Viceroy will have to be correspondingly altered. At present, there are four members in that Council, with portfolios which concern the internal administration of the country—viz., Home, Agriculture, Education, and Industries and Commerce. As all internal administration will now be made over to the Provincial Governments and the Government of India will only retain in its hand nominal control, to be exercised on very rare occasions, one member, to be called Member for the Interior, should suffice in place of these four. It will, however, be necessary to create certain other portfolios, and I would have the Council consist of the following six members (at least two of whom shall always be Indian) :—(a) Interior ; (b) Finance ; (c) Law ; (d) Defence (Navy and Army) ; (e) Communications (Railways, Post and Telegraphs) ; (f) Foreign.

(2) The Legislative Council of the Viceroy should be styled the Legislative Assembly of India. Its members should be raised to about 100 to begin with, and its powers enlarged; but the principle of an official majority (for which perhaps it will suffice to continue a nominated majority) should, for the present, be continued, until sufficient experience has been gathered of the working of autonomous arrangements for the provinces This will give the Government of India a reserve power in connection with provincial administration to be exercised in emergencies. Thus, if a Provincial Legislative Council persistently declines to pass legislation which the Government regards to be essential in the vital interests of the province, it could be passed by the Government of India in its Legislative Assembly over the head of the province. Such occasions would be extremely rare, but the reserve power will give a sense of security to the authorities and will induce them to enter on the great experiment of provincial autonomy with greater readiness. Subject to this principle of an official nominated majority being for the present maintained, the Assembly should have increased opportunities of influencing the policy of the Government by discussion, questions connected with the Army and Navy (to be now created) being placed on a level with other questions. In financial matters the Government of India so constituted should be freed from the control of the Secretary of State, whose control in other matters too should be largely reduced, his Council being abolished, and his position being steadily approximated to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Commissions in the Army and Navy must now be given to Indians with proper facilities for military and naval instruction.

German East Africa, when conquered from the Germans, should be reserved for Indian colonisation and be handed over to the Government of India.

G. K GOKHALE.

SECTION II.



P. RAMARAYANINGAR,
President, Coimbatore Conference.



DEWAN BAHADUR
M. R. KALINGARAYAR,
Zamindar of Uttukuli,
Chairman, Reception Committee,
Coimbatore Conference.

The Coimbatore Conference

This was the First Conference to be held under the auspices of the Non-Brahmin Movement, and its session, by a happy coincidence, synchronized with the memorable announcement of the Secretary of State for India of 20th August, 1917, which formed the basis of all the subsequent reforms in the Government of India.

The political life of Coimbatore was just then in a state of intense activity. For the first time perhaps in the annals of this country, two District Political Conferences were held simultaneously in the same town. The 4th Coimbatore District Conference, which had Home Rule as its goal, was one of them, while the other was the Non-Brahmin Conference, a movement which differed from the other Conference in its views on the Home Rule question. The Hon'ble Mr. K. P. Raman Menon, lately a member of the Madras Legislative Council, was the President-elect of the Home Rule Conference, while the Non-Brahmin Conference had chosen, as their President, Mr. P. Ramarayaningar, who was previously a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, and who subsequently became the most outstanding figure in South Indian politics for over a decade.

The 1st Coimbatore Non-Brahmin Conference opened its session on the morning of 19th August, 1917, at 9 a. m., at the theatre in Upanakara Street, Coimbatore. In front of the theatre, a special pandal was erected and a welcome arch was put up. The President-elect, Mr. P. Ramarayaningar, M. A., F. M. U., who had arrived a couple of days previously, was taken in procession, and at the entrance to the Conference hall he was profusely garlanded. The hall was thronged with many of the leading landholders, zamindars and merchants of the Coimbatore District and a few representative gentlemen from Madras and other parts of the presidency, besides a number of Mahomedans and Christians. Amongst the leaders from Madras, who attended the Conference, were Dr. T. M. Nair, Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti, Pro. K. Ramamurthi and Mr A. C. Parthasaradhi Naidu. A couple of Roman Catholic clergymen were among the delegates. Non-official members of the Legislative Council were conspicuous by their absence, both at this and the other Conference held by the Home Rulers.

The proceedings commenced with a prayer by Mr. Kolandavelu Pillai, after which, on behalf of the Zamindar of Utukuli, Dewan Bahadur M. R. Kalingarayar, who was the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Rao Bahadur M. G. Arogiasami Pillai read the Welcome Address.

Welcome Address

" Brethren,—It is my proud privilege, as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, to welcome you most heartily to this Conference. The events that have led to the holding of a separate Conference by the non-Brahmin community in this district are well-known to you. It was not the desire of any one to break away from the usual district conference, if it was by any means possible to avoid it, and I may assure you that this Conference is not held in a spirit of hatred towards any individual or community. Any impartial observer, who has followed the events that have happened recently at Coimbatore, even as chronicled by the leading gentlemen on the other side in newspapers, which, strange to say, have taken up an attitude of hostility towards us from the very beginning, and would not allow our view of things to appear in them, would be able to see that the separation was forced on us, and that we, as honourable men and as men having at heart the interests of the vast majority of the people, could not sit quiet and allow our views to be misrepresented and our interests ignored.

" We are living in a time of great changes. In Europe, militarism and the gospel of might are making the last stand against freedom and the spirit of progress, The champions of liberty have, without the least idea of gaining anything for themselves, boldly taken up the challenge thrown out by the Huns, that the weak and the poor have no right to live, and are pouring out their blood in torrents to stem the tide of reaction and barbarism. Britain, ever to the fore where the rights of the people are threatened, has taken the lead.

" The opportunity our Govenment has given us to take part in the greatest war the world has ever seen has been universally appreciated by this country. Our soldiers in the several battlefields of Europe, Asia and Africa covered themselves with glory and have well maitained the prestige of our motherland. We have been eagerly expecting the war to come to an end soon. But the unexpected happenings in Russia and the secret workings of the Germans there have postponed the determination of war, but there is absolutely no doubt that the cause of freedom and civilisation will win

in the end, and we pray God will help all those who are fighting for the right cause to bring the war to a successful termination ere long. Our duty at this juncture is clear. Every one of us should do his very best to help in the achievement of an early victory. This should be our first and foremost consideration. I do not doubt that the non-Brahmin community have recognised their duty, and I implore you all to keep this ever before your minds and strive unremittingly to help those who are fighting for us, though we cannot fight ourselves.

"I may here call your attention to the figures published recently regarding the applications received for recruitment to the Indian Defence Force. The classifications adopted in the communique is, no doubt, misleading. The non-Brahmin Hindus are differentiated caste-war, while the Brahmins are shown as one community. It should not also be forgotten that the recruitment to the regular army is all from classes other than the Brahmins. The number of educated non-Brahmins is not very large. But, in spite of all these considerations, I should admit to a feeling of disappointment at the reluctance shown by the non-Brahmin classes to come forward for enlistment in large numbers. I appeal to the great non-brahmin community to avail themselves of the opportunity now given to them to enlist and join the Indian Defence Force in large numbers.

"In this time of stress, we should be careful not to embarass Government. They have enough to do for the war. So, I would very strongly deprecate the questionable methods used by some people engaged in political agitation. I am not to be misunderstood as advocating a policy of inaction with regard to our position after the war. I am as much convinced as any other that the time is ripe for a further instalment of liberal reform leading up to our goal of Self-Government under the British Rule. But, in asking for reform, we should try to be practical, and, in the employment of methods and means of agitation, we ought to be careful. What will appeal to the men of experience only as a reason for asking for reform will rouse the feelings of immature men and lead to racial hatred. So, the leaders have a difficult time, a duty to perform to the country and to the young men they address.

"There is growing in the country a spirit of racial hatred and defiance of established authority, which does not forebode any good. We should, as responsible and practical men, formulate a scheme of reforms, which, while satisfying

the reasonable aspirations of the people, will not be considered by the Government as violent and catastrophic. Signs are not wanting to show that the old and accredited leaders of the country are not with the new movement. The resignation of Sir D. E. Wacha, though withdrawn, and that of Sir V. K. Bose, tell a tale, whose moral will, I hope, not be lost on those who want to resort to questionable methods to attain Home Rule, which, as a goal, is no doubt excellent. It is high time that moderate politicians came out and took their proper place to guide the agitation that is going on in the country.

"This is the first time in the history of our presidency that a Non-Brahmin Conference is held. The members of the community, which is excluded from this Conference, have for a long time been acccustomed to speak in the name of the country and appropriate to themselves whatever benefits might result from political agitation. We have been lethargic far too long. We have not taken advantage of western education to the extent to which we should have, with the result that those, who were first in the field, have taken possession of the whole field. It is now our duty to make up for lost time and put forth strenuous efforts to overtake those who are in advance. This is a question in which we have to work out our own salvation and not depend on others to help us. I feel sure that, with the awakening that is perceptible every where, the non-Brahmin communities all over the country will, ere long, be in a position to take their rightful place in all the public movements of the country.

"Ever since we decided to hold our Conference, attacks have been made on all sides from interested quarters. We have been dubbed reactionaries. We were called traitors to the country. Motives are attributed to some of those who have been actually working for this Conference. I will only remind those who attack us that those tactics will deceive nobody, and that, if you reply in their own vein, our reply will be more effective than their attack. It has been said in the press that our Conference is based on hatred. We are only working for the improvement of our own conditions and for the advancement of our own interests. And it is love of our community that inspired us and not hatred of any other community. One other charge that has been brought against our movement is that we comprise only a handful and the community as a whole is not with us. This Conference is a sufficient answer to the charge. All the leading men of all the non-Brahmin communities in the district, the Mahomedans, the



Group photo taken at the Coimbatore Conference, (1917).

Christians and the Hindus, have joined us, and this is a sufficient indication that the whole non-Brahmin population of the district is in agreement with our aims and aspirations.

" As befitting our position as responsible men and our stake in the country, we ought to show in our deliberations that we are neither visionaries nor professional fault-finders, but practical men, who are serious in what they say and what they ask for. I have no doubt we will conduct our deliberations with the dignity and orderliness, which a Conference started by practical men demands.

' It is a matter for congratulation that we have secured for our President a gentleman, who belongs to one of the most ancient and honoured families in the country, one, who, in addition to birth, has acquired the highest educatiou our university can impart, and who, by his public spirit and deep political insight, won a seat on the Imperial Legislative Council, where, as a representative of the landholders of the presidency, he did excellent work. Under his guidance I am sure that our success is assured.

"Gentlemen, I welcome you once again to this, the First Non-Brahmin Conference in the presidency. Now I request you to proceed to the election of your President."

Mr. Meenakshisundara Mudaliar then read the Tamil translation of the Address.

Rao Bahadur A. T. Thiruvenkatasami Mudaliar then proposed Mr Ramarayaningar to be the President of the Conference, which was seconded by Khan Sahib Syed Dewan Abdul Razack Sahib of Udumalpet and supported by Mr P. K. Eapen. The proposition was carried with acclamation.

The President then took the chair, and delivered his Address.

Presidential Address

"I thank you for the honour you have done me by electing me as the President of this Conference. For the first time in our history, we, the members of the various non-Brahmin communities, are holding a Conference of our own for the discussion of the questions which interest us most.

THE REASON FOR THIS CONFERENCE

" Our critics, who always take upon themselves the right to speak on behalf of the Indian nation, have already charged us with being sectarian. The habit of regarding themselves as the Indian nation and their interests as the national interests, has obviously made them blind to the fact that the classes, whom this Conference represents, form the masses, the overwhelming majority of the population of this province.

Time was when such pretensions were allowed to pass unchallenged, and we all know we had to suffer for it. Perhaps, that was unavoidable. The non-Brahmin communities were never under a common social discipline. Nor was there any sort of political freemasonry among them. Individuals and social units drifted aimlessly, with consequences disastrous to their position and interests. That such should have been the case is not astonishing. Nursed in superstitious traditions and kept under the iron heels of an exclusive priestly hierarchy, the bulk of the non-Brahmin communities had no other alternative. They had no free access to the fountain of knowledge. The Brahmins of old kept every department of knowledge to themselves and so interpreted the ancient scriptures as to ensure the perpetual enslavement of the rest of the people of India. Had the ancient literature of India, which certainly was a common heritage, been open to all its people, the condition of India would have been much better to-day. I am in a position to quote to you 'Vedic' texts to prove to your satisfaction that their authors had not intended them to be kept a sealed book for the exclusive benefit of any favoured caste or class. All classes were freely permitted to drink deep at the fountain of ancient Indian spirituality and ancient Indian lore. Indeed, in pre-Brahminical India, every class was more or less instructed in the literature, science, art and philosophy of the time. Owing to the vicissitudes, through which every society has to pass, the class, whose special occupation in ancient India was to study the sacred books, so interpreted their contents as to make it sacrilegious for the rest of their country men to profit by them. When indeed the English first came to India, they found our ancestors in a condition of hopeless ignorance and superstition. Gradually, as British conquests came to be consolidated, and as British power firmly established itself, our rulers were awakened to the necessity of instructing the people in ideas and truths, which would emancipate them from priestly bondage and degrading superstition. It is needless now to go at length into the history of this work of emancipation. I may, however, state, for the information of those, who, for political purposes, endeavour to make out that England, during its occupation of India for the past 150 years, has done nothing to make the people fit to exercise the responsibilities of self-government at the present time, that the work of real emancipation was begun comparatively late. The British rulers had first to establish their authority in the country before they could undertake any constructive programme of social and political

reform, so much so that the history of Iudian social and political development under the British Government does not extend beyond sixty or seven y years Sixty or seventy years in the life of a vas congeries of races and communities mean nothing. And ye, if we read British Indian history, in its proper ligh, we shall irresistably be led o he conclusion that the various forms of activity, which we see in this country, may all be traced, directly or indirectly, to the work accomplished by the British Government during this comparatively short period. One of the great beneficial results of that work is this Conference itself, which is an active manifestation of the awakened sense of self-respec: of the various non-Brahmin communities of this presidency. These communities, in spite of the new ideas and ideals introduced into the country by Englishmen, have taken such a long time to rid themselves of their old shackles and assert their manhood, their independence and their individuality.

NON-BRAHMIN AWAKENING

" The question is asked whether it would not be well for us to continue as before to be a silent mass of suffering humanity, toiling all day long to develop the natural resources of the country, leaving leadership and the pleasures and amenities of life to the traditionally literary class. If violent movements for wresting power and authority from the hands of the British Raj had not been started, there might probably have been no non-Brahmin awakening at this moment, though at some future time it was bound to come; for, the British Government has introduced the light, which, like the life sustaining rays of the sun, has begun to diffuse itself over all, and its beneficent influence must slowly but surely make itself felt. The Home Rule movement and the violent agitation it ushered into existence have only accelerated the pace.

WHY WE ARE OPPOSED TO HOME RULE

"Why is it that we non-Brahmins generally are opposed to Home Rule at the present time? We are ardent reformers ourselves, and we are of opinion that Home Rule may be adopted as an ideal to be reached through a series of progressive social and political reforms. British statesmen themselves have encouraged us to cherish this ideal, and if we persevere with faith, hope and patience, we shall certainly attain it. We are now opposed to the Home Rule movement, because, if it is granted to us at once, it will, so far as this presidency is concerned, push back the non-Brahmin communities to their original state of helpless dependence and enslavement and re-install in, the place of our British rulers,

the very priestly class, who were responsible for the unenviable state, in which the non-Brahmin communities were stagnating before the advent of British rule. I am more than ever convinced that the Varnashrama Dharama movement and the revivalist movement, accompanied, as these are, by the agitation for what is called national education, that is education on Manu's lines, at all events the operation of all these and other forces of a like nature, would result in taking the province back to the old days of Brahminical ascendency. Leading members of the non-Brahmin communities, men, who have the clarity of vision to see through the glamour and glitter of the new Brahminical programme of religious, social and political reforms, arrived deliberately at the opinion, that, if concerted action were not taken now, these commnnities would cease to be a force altogether.

"But these are not the only considerations which influenced their decision. It is true that the Congress, as it was in the old days, was an organisation of moderates, which carried on its work with becoming decorum and dignity. There was no threat of passive resistance, with a view to coerce the authorities into meek submission to its mandates. It was strictly constitutional in its methods. Indian leaders, like the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, whose recent death we in this Conference deplore as a national calamity, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Mr. Gakhale, kept the course of the Congress straight. Though not a representative body in the technical sense, its deliberations were watched with interest by all classes of people, and indeed its opinions deserved the respectful attention of even those who did not accept its programme. But the Congress devoted its attention mainly to the discussion of the questions in which the educated classes were interested. Questions affecting the masses received comparatively little attention, and purely social questions were kept out of its programme. It must, however. be borne in mind that, if India is ever to attain nationhood, the masses, and especially the depressed classes, have to be taken along with the more enlightened communities, and, as the Congress, during its existence, has bestowed very little thought on this aspect of the great socio-political problem, those, who were deeply interested in the uplift of the masses and in the development of all classes, irrespective of caste, community or creed, could not but regret its indifference and apathy. It was, therefore, a foregone conclusion that even if the Home Rule movement had not come into being, the non-Brahmin movement, as we broadly designate our

organisation, was bound to be inaugurated by those who cherished very different ideas about Indian nation-building and about national regeneration. What is called progress does not mean the development along modern lines of any particular class or section. It means the movement forward of all classes and communities in a country, a fact, which the politicians, with their party push and party shibboleths, have not yet recognised, and no wonder, in a country of castes the purely democratic idea seldom finds a place. That idea requires that all members of the community must have the same chance and the same opportunities, with no artificial barriers between group and group to obstruct their progress. Our movement is guided onward and permeated by this idea. For the full realisation of this idea we shall have to get out of the leading strings of our old spiritual guides, who enslaved our intellect under the pretext of saving our souls. This is another reason for starting the new movement, the spirit of which is embodied in this Conference.

"You, in Coimbatore, have no doubt your own reasons also. Perhaps, you have found it impossible, without sacrificing your interests and suppressing your opinions, heartily to co-operate with the impatient idealists of this place. I do not want to go into the broad issues which separate you from them. I will only call your attention to a local incident, which took place here three or four weeks ago. The inhabitants of the Coimbatore district felt themselves especially grateful to His Excellency Lord Pentland for what he had done for them. Under the guidance of their recognised leaders, they wanted to give public expression to their sense of gratitude to him. What did the Home Rulers do? Perhaps, more than most of us, the Home Rulers and their followers have reason to be grateful to His Excellency. Lord Pentland has been a sympathetic and broad-minded ruler. He has been doing his best to advance the interest of the educated classes. He has, for instance, been instrumental in raising the number of Indian High Court Judges to five. It was during his Governorship, and at his istance, that an Indian was first appointed Secretary to the Government. He was the first Governor to appoint an India as a member of the Board of Revenue. He has proved his interest in female education by establishing in Madras a Government College for Women, He has also taken a practical interest in the industrial development of the presidency, as evidenced by the industrial exhibitions organised and held under his immediate supervision. And yet, the class, which ought to be grateful to him

for all these beneficent actions, has been assailing him with a violence, which has been unprecedented in the political history of this presidency for the last thir y years or more. Some of the members of this identical group so forgot their position in the district as to break up a meeting in this town held for the purpose of thanking the Secretary of State for extending Lord Pentland's term of office as Governor of this presidency. In this case too, these people, who are as but a drop in the ocean, did not care for the feelings and wishes of their neighbours, whose numbers were so overwhelmingly large and to whose decision they should in justice have submitted. Does it not show that the time has come, even in small matters, for the majority to assert their rights and to take up their appointed place of authority? In no other civilised country in the world a microscopic minority, because they are so articulate, are allowed so often to over-ride the wishes and opinions of the majority. I say we owe it to ourselves and to the Government, which has brought us to a sense of the realisation of our own rights and duties, to resolve hereafter firmly and unflinchingly to take the place, to which we are entitled by reason of our stake and of our numerical strength. Need I say in this connection that non-Brahmin communities in this presidency rejoice at the fact that the inhabitants of the Coimbatore district, under the wise guidance of their recognised leaders, have been the first to take concerted public action to assert their rights and to establish their position in the country? Whatever else may happen, future generations will look back upon what you have achieved to-day, not only with satisfaction, but with pride and gratitude. Ours is a movement for protecting and advancing our interests, and the interests of such a vast community as ours cannot be safe-guarded and furthered without organised action on our part.

THE OBJECT OF THIS CONFERENCE

"It is not my purpose to go into a detailed review in anticipation of the work of this Conference. The resolutions that will be placed before you for your consideration will, I am sure, explain and justify the purpose for which it is held. The objects we seek to achieve are plain enough. I would first call your attention to the great social problem with which we are confronted, for let us not forget the fact that ours is as much a social as a political movement. We are anxious to bring together and organise the various social groups, which comprise the non-Brahmin communities, on the broad and enduring basis of social justice. Before we can attain a high political state,

we must remove all the existing social inequalities and differences, which hinder progress and make social efficiency impossible of attainment. The high caste-man and the low-caste man and communities differing in faith must all be free to enjoy the benefits of British Rule in equal measure. Towards this object, the first duty we have to undertake is the prompt and effective removal of the disabilities imposed on the low castes, especially the depressed classes, in the name, in many cases, of religion. Our movement must be so shaped, and our work so carried on, that, within a measurable distance of time, all the existing social cleavages, due to artificial causes, must be swept away The one leveller of all artificial and galling distinctions, the one supreme influence, which conduces to social efficiency and social cohesion, is education. So far, education has been the privilege of the higher classes; the masses yet remain to be given the facilities to know themselves and the world in which their lot is cast. The educated few have confined their efforts mainly to making provision for additional facilities for the education of their own class. The real producers, the men and women, who toil all day long in the plains, have been more or less ignored. Under the circumstances, we here in this Conference, and the new movement with wh h we are all identified, should do every thing possible and necessary for the education of the masses, in order to improve their social and economic status and raise their standard of life. Higher education as such can only be for the few. We want to educate the millions in arts, those, which, while they enable them to live healthier and happier lives, add substantially to the economic resources of the country. Primary education, technical and industrial education and agricultural education are the main objects towards the carrying out of which we have to direct our energies. We all talk often about Japan and the marvellous progress that country has made within a few short decades. In Japan, the privileged classes gave up their privileges all at once, as if by the influence of magic, in order that the general progress of the country on modern lines may be ensured. If we are to show satisfactory results in the future, we have to do likewise, taking in hand the question of the amelioration of the condition of the depressed and poorer classes, who, by their labour, have been contributing so much to our prosperity and happiness. Nor is this all. No country can make any progress worth the name, if the women are left behind. We must, therefore, make strenuous efforts to educate the women of our communities. I have no doubt

that, in all these endeavours on our part, we shall obtain, in an ever-increasing measure, the support of the Government.

AN EDUCATION FUND

"Since the non-Brahmin movement came into existence, an impetus has been given to the education of non-Brahmin boys and girls. But we must confess we have yet done nothing ourselves commensurate with the magnitude of the task that lies before us. It is a favourite topic with our friends that non-Brahmins are an intellectually backward community. I have no hesitation in saying that ~~it~~ is a baseless calumny. Given the same opportunities and the same facilities, the members of the non-Brahmin communities of this presidency will be able to hold their own in intellectual contests with the members of the most pretentious and purely literary class in the land. What then are we to do? We have to provide the means and facilities, so that our young men and our young women, gifted with natural talents, may be able to avail themselves of the best possible education that the country can give them. The leaders of the non-Brahmin movement have to turn theit attention to this subject in the true spirit of practical patriots and create an Educational Fund for the benefit of the young men and young women of the non-Brahmin communities. For the creation and maintenance of this fund and for adding to it as occasion requires, we may appeal with confidence to the patriotism, generosity and spirit of justice of the non-Brahmin zemindars, land-holders and other well-to-do people of this province. Perhaps, if proper representations are made, the Government may also help us in this direction by such measures as they find it convenient to adopt. However, the question of education, as a social problem, is of the gravest importance to our future; and our best minds and the most public spirited among us should devise a plan, which, in operation, would answer the progressive needs of the community. If successful steps are taken to solve this social problem, we may rest assured that the moral sense of the people will also be awakened and developed. There is among us a great deal of dormant parriotism and latent spirit of fellowship and brotherhood. If the people are given the sort of education which they require, their standard of duty will be raised, and with it the general level of society will also be raised.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

"With the social question is bound up the economic question. For the development of the natural resources of the country we have been depending on old world methods.

These methods will have to be improved and brought up-to-date, and, where necessary, given up altogether. In this presidency, as elsewhere, nothing effective has been done to rouse the spirit of self-help and self-reliance in the people. It is a historic truth that the development of industries and of commerce conduces to the growth of other virtues, the possession of which is so necessary to success in life. But, in this presidency, no great organised effort has been made to develop its industries. Its small industries and what are known as cottage industries have, owing to the fierce spirit of competition with which they have been confronted, all languished. The complaint often made is that this presidency is suffering from a lack of capital and that the Government themselves have done practically nothing to promote its industries. In my opinion, the complaint about the lack of capital has not much foundation in fact. We may not have vast millions of money or heaps of hoarded wealth all at once to be invested in industrial enterprises. But there is capital enough in the country for making a good beginning, and we may depend upon it that the Government themselves would be glad to supplement our efforts, at all events, to help us as much as they can, in this direction. How do you account for the fact that Bombay, situated as this presidency is and having the same form of Government, has been progressing industrially? Bombay had not its millions when it first began It probably had only its hundreds, thousands or hundreds of thousands ; but, by co-operative efforts, by trained intelligence, and by wise investments, that presidency has achieved results in the industrial field, which excite the envy of the rest of India. In this presidency, there are men of wealth among the landed aristocracy, among lawyers, among officials, retired and in service, and among the educated classes generally, but seldom have they invested their superfluous wealth or savings in industrial enterprise. We have among us an exceptionally wealthy class—the Nattukottai Chetties. What use do they make of their untold wealth? Ordinarily, they devote their superfluous wealth to building temples, establishing choultries for feeding the able-bodied idlers of a particular community and to other equally unproductive purposes. There are again those of us who seek to gain distinction and fame by helping the revival of Sanskrit learning and by endowments in connection with colleges and schools intended mainly for the benefit of the literary classes. Unfortunately, not many of these have bestowed a thought on ameliorating the condition of the masses and the backward classes,

who together form the great, but neglected, army of producers What in my judgment this presidency wants for its economic development is the development of that true industrial spirit on modern lines, without which no country can make any substantial progress. If the industries of the country are developed, agriculture, which is the foundation of all industries, will also be proportionately developed, and my appeal to you to-day is to pay your earnest attention to this subject. We belong to the producing communities of this country, and in our own interests, we must spare no efforts to augment the economic resources and the material wealth of this presidency.

SELF-GOVERNMENT AS A GOAL

"Coming to the political side of our activities, it is well for us at once to realise that Home Rule now is out of the question. The Home Ruler condemns the British Government as being full of defects and shortcomings. He attributes to it motives unmerited. We, on the other hand, readily and fully recognise the benefits of British rule. It is the British Government that has made us what we are to-day. The Home Ruler himself would never have been heard of but for that Government. We do not for a moment suggest that the Government is all perfect. We are for changes in the Indian constitution. But the changes we would ask for are such that, while they will not irretrievably undermine British authority and interfere unduly with the work of emancipation, which the British Government has been carrying on, they would yet ensure to us closer and more intimate co-operation with the Government. We also look forward to Self-Government as a goal, but, as I have already said, we seek to reach the goal through gradual stages and through steady reforms in the method of administration. The late Mr. Gokhale's plan, which he had prepared just before his death and which has just been given to the world by the Aga Khan, does not also ask for any revolutionary changes, such as those contemplated by the Home Rulers and in the now famous Memorandum of the nineteen non-official members of the Viceroy's Ligislative Council. What exactly are the changes and reforms which we advocate will be known to you, when the resolutions are placed before you. I do not want to anticipate what is in those resolutions. We are given hopes of a large instalment of reforms in the near future; and Lord Islington, Under Secretary of State for India, has indicated in broad outline the nature of some of the more important reforms. There will be decentralisation

of authority, and an enlargement of the Legislative Councils, together with radical changes in the existing system of local Self-Government, the object aimed at being the training of the representatives of the people in the difficult art of responsible government. We are particularly glad that provision will be made for free and compulsory education and that the principle of communal and direct representation is to be recognised. The differences between the antagonistic groups are so wide, so great and so acute, that they cannot be reconciled except by giving to each of them its own right to make itself heard in the highest as well as in the subordinate councils of the land. We also claim proportional representations in the public service. Of course we, the non-Brahmins, cannot live by politics or by Government service. But you will recognise that, without political power in proportion to its importance and stake in the country, no community can advance. Non-Brahmin communities have suffered in the past for lack of this power, and we must insist in the future that, both in the Government service and in the public bodies, the communities, in whose name we have a right to speak, must be represented in proportion to their numerical strength and not below their social weight and prestige in the country. Every community must have its proper share, and certainly not more than its proper share, with the British government at the top to hold the scales even between community and community and class and class. As education advances and as the spirit of clannishness and the differences due to caste and inherited tradition fade away into nothingness, all the communities and classes in this country may work in combination as one coherent and consistent whole. But till that time arrives, no self-respecting community would allow its interests and rights to be jeopardised by its being kept in the background without an effective voice in the affairs of the country. At the present time and in the years to come, we have to make earnest efforts to organise ourselves for the purpose of protecting and promoting our political interests and making our influence felt in the councils of the Government. Our watch-words must be union, organisation, co-operation, concerted action, and unsleeping vigilance.

"But for the fact that the Government itself has given prominence to the question of political reform, we would not have so earnestly insisted upon it at this critical stage in the history of the British Empire. In no other part of that Empire, except perhaps in Ireland, is any political agita-

tion carried on absolutely unconnected with the war. The war is the one absorbing topic, not only in the British Empire, but all over the civilised world. But, for some reason or other, some of our friends have chosen this particular moment for carrying on the most exciting political agitation known in this country. And as that agitation has given us no alternative, we have to press forward our demands, but in a most respectful, constitutional and considerate manner, without in any way unduly embarrassing the responsible British statesmen pre-occupied with the high imperial problems connected with the war.

OUR DUTY TOWARDS BRITISH GOVERNMENT

"In this war the most highly cherished aspirations of mankind are involved. England and her allies are fighting for the cause of truth, justice, humanity, freedom, the rights of small nationalities and righteousness and peace upon earth. We have a vital interest in this struggle. Our future is bound up with the strength and stability of the British Empire. Our duty must, therefore, be to strain every nerve and to exploit every resource to help England to bring this mighty struggle to a triumphant and speedy end. Owing to the strong arm of Britain, we have yet known nothing of the horrors and miseries of the war. But we must realise that the successful prosecution of the war means men, money and material in plentiful adundance. Our own kith and kin, the Indian army, have been privileged to take an active and honourable part in this great war, and they have brought credit and glory to us and to their native land. But those who remain at home, enjoying the blessings of peace and settled government, must remember and realise that they also owe a duty to the Great Empire, of which they form a part. We, the members of the non-Brahmin commuties, have been doing our best to help the War Funds and War Loan. But we have yet another duty to perform. The regular Indian Army is to be strengthened, and you are aware that this army consists mostly of the members of the non-Brahmin communities, drawn mainly from the agricultural and industrial classes, the classes, who, by their toil, loyalty and patriotism, have been doing so much for the permanence and prosperity of British rule in India. An earnest appeal is now made to them and to other classes to join the regular army in large numbers, so that in the struggle with an unscrupulous foe the British Empire may not lack in man power. The enlightened classes, from which the recruits for the regular army are not drawn, have been invited to join the

Defence of India Force. But the response so far has not been satisfactory. If you want to govern your country, you must be able to defend it too. But, curiously enough, the classes, which have been so loud in their complaint that they were not given the privilege to join the army, have not equally readily responded to the call when the privilege was conferred on them. But that is another matter. My appeal to.day to the members of all the non-Brahmin communities is to join the regular army in numbers adequate for the purpose for which an increase has been rendered imperative. You must show to the world that ours is no lip-loyalty, no hollow ceremonial profession, and that we are ready to shed our blood in defence of the empire and of the principles which we hold sacred. If we fail not in our duty in this time of trial and danger, we shall revive in us the name and fame for valour, which past generations of our community have achieved for themselves under the Union Jack.

CONCLUSION

"Gentlemen, we are passing through a stage of rapid transition. The India, which you probably figure to yourselves as smooth and quiet, will, on closer and more careful examination, be found to be like a sea foaming with tempests and boiling with whirlpools. Navigation under such conditions is indeed difficult. But few things are impossible to diligence and skill. In the management of national and communal affairs, sustained organised effort is necessary. It rests with us, at this critical epoch in our history, to make or mar our future. The times call for service and sacrifice on the part of every one of us. Look at what is going on in Europe! Does history speak of a spectacle more inspiring, more ennobling, more elevating? For the re-establishment, on a broader and firmer basis, of the fundamental principles of human progress, no sacrifice is considered too great by the men and women of the United Kingdom and of the allied countries. In the self-same spirit, animated by the same patriotic impulses and stimulated by the same noble resolves, let us, as a united community, go to work, in our own limited sphere, for attaining peacefully our own goal Long and dreary was the night of winter through which we had to live. Thanks to the British Government, we are just emerging into the dawn of a brighter and clearer day than was ever known in this ancient land. Let us no more allow the siren voice to lure us back into our former state of bondage. Let no personal ambition or temporary advan-

tage darken our counsel. We have put our hands to the plough, and let us not look back. Ours is a great and noble cause. We have to help the toiling millions of this great province out of their Slough of Despondence and take them along the path of modern progress. We have wise and true-hearted leaders to guide us, to cheer us on, and to inspire us with courage. We have a Government deeply interested in our welfare and ready to help us on, when and where their help is needed. Let us then, under the fostering care of our benign Government and under the leadership of the best and the wisest among us, march steadily onward wlth one will, one heart, and with singleness of aim, and the victory of an emancipated people will surely be ours"

Mr. M. Sambanda Mudaliar then read the telegrams and letters received from a number of gentlemen, expressing their regret for their inability to attend the Conference and wishing the Conference suceess. Amongst those who sent the messages were, the Honorable Mr. Ahmed Tambi Marakayar the Honorable Mr. Kavalpara Moopil Nair, the Zamindar of Singampatti and Mr. Manavedan Rajah. The Subjects Committee was then formed and the Conference was adjourned for the next day.

SECOND DAY

The Conference resumed its sitting on 20th August 17 at 9·30 a.m., with Mr. Ramarayaningar in the chair.

Resolutions

After resolutions on Loyalty and on the death of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and the loss the country sustained thereby were passed, the Conference passed the following resolutions.

INDIAN DEFENCE FORCE AND ARMY

I. This Conference expresses its appreciation of the resolution of the Government of India, permitting the enlistment of Indians in the Defence of India Force, and requests Government to throw open the commissioned ranks in the army to deserving Indians.

(Moved from the chair.)

LORD HARDINGE

II. This Conference expresses its confidence in Lord Hardinge, whose sympathetic administration of the country under conditions of unparalleled

difficulty has brought India closer together than has ever been done before, and further expresses its disapproval of the attempts made in some quarters to lay the responsibility for the Mesopotamia muddle at his door.

REFORMS

III. (1) While the Conference is convinced that the country is not at present fit for complete Home Rule, it is of opinion that a liberal instalment of political reforms in all stages of Government is necessary so as to make the Government more responsible to the people of India than at present and to enable people to gain experience in the methods of Self-Government, and would suggest the following as a safe minimum for being granted as soon as the war is over :—

(a) The Legislative Council, both Imperial and Provincial, should be enlarged so as to contain a substantial majority of elected members, provision being made for the due representation of all communities and interests. In the combination of electoral areas provision should be made for the represensation of each district by at least one member.

(b) In the Imperial and Provincial Governments, the departments of Local Self Government, Education, Sanitation, Agriculture, Co-operation and Registration, should be placed entirely under the control of non-official members of the Legislative Councils, the administration of these departments being placed in Indian hands, with a view to place these departments under the executive control of the non-official members in the near future. The funds necessary for expenditure in these departments should be assigned in the shape of a separate head of revenue, or a fixed portion of one or more heads of revenue, sufficiently elastic and adequate to meet the growing needs of these important departments.

(c) Half the number of members of the Executive Councils should be Indians. These members will be nominated in such a way that the several communities may be duly represented in the Council.

(d) The Local Boards and Municipalities should be left to manage their own affairs and should be freed of all official control within. Any official control that is considered necessary should be exercised from without and that only in cases of gross neglect of duty or gross misconduct.

(2). This Conference is of opinion that it is necessary that Government should accept Self-Government within the Empire as the ultimate goal of British Rule in India and that an early announcement to that effect should be made to reassure the public mind.

(3). This Conference is of opinion that it is necessary that Government should, before passing final orders on the reforms to be introduced after the war, give opportunity to the people to express their views by publishing their proposals.

(4) This Conference is of opinion that in all councils and boards in existence or to be formed to exercise the functions of Government or to advise Government, special care should be taken to see that there is a due representation of all the communities and adequate safeguards introduced to secure this end.

[Note.—In this and other resolutions, the several communities of which the people are comprised are taken to be the Brahmins, the non-Brahmin Hindus, the Mahomedans and the Christians.]

(5). This Conference is of opinion that, in any scheme of imperial reconstruction after the war, India shall be accepted as an equal partner with the Self-Governing Colonies.

(Moved from the chair.)

EDUCATION

IV. (1). This Conference is of opinion that primary education is the first need of the country, that the efforts that have been made to diffuse education among the people are quite inadequate, and that Government should give prominent place to any scheme that may be suggested for imparting free primary education to the people and making it compulsory in all municipal areas, not less than two thirds of the cost being borne by the Goverment.

(2) This Conference is of opinion that such of the Municipalities as cannot meet their portion of expenditure from their ordinary income may be allowed to raise the amount necessary by a special cess.

(3) Thi Conference is of opinion that the facilities available for secondary and higher education are not sufficient, as is evident from the number of applications for admission which are rejected, and requests Government to take early steps, which will make it possible for all qualified students to get admission in schools and colleges.

(4) This Conference is of opinion that sufficient encouragement is not given to the non-Brahmins for education and commend to Government for adoption a scheme for giving scholarships to poor non-Brahmin boys on the model of the scheme recently sanctioned by the Mysore Government.

(5) This Conference urges the establishment of well-supervised hostels in all important places for the exclusive use of non-Brahmin boys.

(6) This Conference is of opinion that Vernaculars should be made compulsory in all schools.

Stirring speeches were made by several speakers emphasizing the above resolutions on Education.

CHARITABLE FUNDS AND BRAHMIN EDUCATION

V. This Conference, while protesting against the utilisation of Chutram and other charitable funds for founding Sanscrit Schools, recommends to the Government and the trustees of such institutions the use of those funds, whenever available, for the establishment of primary schools.

The speakers on this resolution pointed out that it was only the Brahmin community which benefited by the establishment of Sanscrit schools. No non-Brahmin was ever admitted into such institutions, though it was mostly their money that these charitable endowments were made up of.

Dr. T. M. Nair

Dr. T. M. Nair, in supporting the resolution, said that he did so, because it was high time to stop a tendency which might develop and become a ruinous practice, When he was in the Legislative Council, a Bill was introduced by Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar to give the Mahant of Tirupati power to divert the Mut funds for educational purposes. He fully sympathised with that Bill and gave it his hearty support. The Bill had been passed into law and the Mahant was now fully at liberty to utilise the funds for educational purposes. He understood from the worthy President that this permission had been utilised in an objectionable manner. If the Mahant maintained a high school or any primary schools, no body would have had any objection. He was told that "educational purposes" had been interpreted to mean the establishment of a sanscrit school, where the Brahmins only were admitted. (cries of shame.) He was told that one such school had been started. If they scrutinised the funds of the Tirupati Mut, they would find that 99.5% of the resources came out of non-Brahmin pockets and it was this money that was being utilised for starting exclusively Brahmin institutions. This was one of the abuses to be put down, since a similar practice was being followed in other districts. If they did not raise a timely protest, non-Brahmin religious funds might be utilised exclusively for Brahmin education.

The resolution was strongly supported by Mr. A. C. Parthasarathi Naidu, who specially appealed to the Mussalmans to heartily support the Non-Brahmin Movement.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

WATER SUPPLY

VI. This Conference recommends that sufficient water be provided for all towns in the district and that the necessary schemes be prepared at a very early date.

(Moved by Rev. Father Rondy)

The Conference adjourned for lunch at 12 noon and resumed its sitting at 2 p. m., when the following resolutions were passed :—

PUBLIC SERVICES

VII. (1) This Conference is of opinion that the majority report recommendation of the Public Services Commission is not adequate to satisfy the recent requirements of the country.

(2) This Conference, while noting with satisfaction the recommendation of the Public Services Commission that communal interests ought to be consulted in filling up appointments of all grades, begs to point out that, unless stringent rules are framed and carried out, the object of the recommendation will be defeated, and suggests that the following among other rules ought to be adopted:—

(a) When competent applicants belonging to different communities apply for a place, it should be given to the applicant belonging to the community which has not had due representation in the office or service.

(b) Appointments should be so distributed that no more than forty per cent of the appointments are held by the same community in the same office or service.

(c) One-third of the appointments of Sub-Magistrates and Deputy Tahsildars and a fair proportion of those of Deputy Collectors should be thrown open for direct recruitment, and preference should be given to deserving young men belonging to communities not duly represented in the services.

(3) This Conference is of opinion that the age limit recommended for boys for the Indian Civil Service Examination is too low and prays that the present age limit may continue.

(4) This Conference resolves to point out to the railway authorities that there is not a fair distribution of appointments in the Railway Services, that amongst the Indian communities, the Brahmins predominate in the audit and the traffic departments, and that an invidious distinction is made between Indians and Anglo-Indians, and requests the Government to recommend to the railway authorities a change in their sytem of recruitment so as to secure a fair representation of all communities in the Railway Services

It was pointed out that for such responsible posts as Station Masters and Assistant Station Masters, in whose hands are the lives of several thousands of passengers, the railway authorities pay from 20 to 100 Rupees a month, if they are Indians, while Ticket Examiners of the Anglo-Indian community are started on Rs. 30 and promoted to Rs. 50 within a short time.

AGRICULTURE

VIII. This Conference requests Government to adopt a scheme for sending Inspectors of Agriculture to selected areas to take leases of lands and actually cultivate the plots and to demonstrate the advantages of the improvements they advocate and also to open depots for the selling of pure cotton seeds and other seeds not ordinarily available in the districts in a pure condition.

FORESTS

IX. This Conference advocates the extension of forest panchayats in all suitable areas, and requests Government to provide sufficient pasture, wherever Government lands are available, and to acquire lands for pasture, wherever Government lands are not available.

BENCH COURTS AND PANCHAYATS

X. This Conference recommends that Bench Courts may be appointed in all municipal areas with jurisdiction to try all civil suits of small cause nature up to a limit of Rs. 200 and that the jurisdiction of Bench Courts, wherever established, should be made exclusive, in order to make them popular. This Conference recommends that panchayats should be given wide powers.

PROPAGANDA WORK

XI. This Conference urges the need for the establishment of a Central District Association in Coimbatore, with branches in various taluqs, to make known the objects of the Conference to the masses.

The Rev. Father Ambrose, who moved the resolution, pointed out that the object of forming such an association, with branches in various quarters was not to fight with the Brahmins. Their object was to improve the condition of the non-Brahmins educationally and otherwise, so that they might compete with the Brahmins in various walks of life.

Pro. Ramamurthi and Mr. A. C. Parthasarathi Naidu spoke in support of the proposition.

A few other resolutions of local importance, such as the establishment of permanent District Munsiffs' Courts at Pollachi, Gobichettipalayam and Dharapuram and the cancellation of the plague pass port system were then passed.

President's Concluding Speech.

"Gentlemen:—At this late hour and after the long sitting of the evening, I do not wish to detain you any longer and inflict a speech upon you. I have only to say that I am as deeply grateful to you for the excellent conduct of the proceedings of this important Conference, as I am for the honour you have done me in choosing me as your President, and for extending to me your generous hospitality during my stay at Coimbatore. In discussing every point you have been moderate, and in moving your resolutions you have been business-like. You gave expression to your loyalty to the Throne and to your readiness to contribute your humble quota towards the successful prosecution of the war. In addition to pointing out your local wants, you formulated a scheme for post-war reforms for the consideration of the authorities. Your scheme is modest and reasonable. You have rightly come to the conclusion that the country is not prepared for Home Rule at present. The masses of the people are uneducated. They are divided in hide-bound divisions of caste and community. Their stages of civilizations are different. Their interests are different. The backward communities are sure to suffer, if, at this stage, are introduced any administrative changes, which, in operation, would tend to weaken the influence and authority of the British Rulers, who alone, in the present conditon of the country, are able to hold the scales even between the different castes and communities. You have been at the same time not unmindful of the progress to be gradually achieved. You have asked for free and compulsory educatiou. You have asked for the independence of Local Self-Government. You are for legislative control over certain departments of the Executive Goyernment. You would have greater representation of the people in the Executive Government. You pray for communal represtation. Communal representation, especially in this presidency, is absolutely necessary. Here communal differences are more marked and the feeling of bitterness between caste and caste is greater. Gentlemen, if the reforms you ask for are granted, you are sure to gain experience in the art of government, and you will be able to see how you can get on with the powers entrusted to you. Then alone you can go in for further reforms. Your modest scheme is sure to appeal to the sympathy of the authorities and the British public. In all your proceedings you have been discreet. Interested people may hate us and attribute motives to our movement. Impatient politicians may ridi-

cule us as being reactionary. Hate them not; ridicule them not in return; mind your own business. Be practical and reasonable in your actions. Be self-reliant, have self-respect, have hope. You will have your day. Gentlemen, before I dissolve this Conference, once more I do heartily thank you all" (Loud cheers,)

Mr. M. G. Arogiasami Pillai then proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the President, which was carried with enthusiasm. He also proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Nair and Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chettiar as the pioneers of the Non-Brahmin Movement. The thanks of the Conference were also tendered to the various delegates, who had come to Coimbatore for the Conference, and to the Reception Committee and the volunteers. The several Zamindars, who lent the movement their support, were also thanked.

Dr. T. M. Nair's Speech

Dr. T. M. Nair responded to the votes of thanks.

He said that much as he valued their votes of thanks and their demonstrations of good-will, he was all the more grateful to them for having demonstrated to the people that the movement had taken root and was bearing fruit. He was exceedingly gratified at what he had seen in Coimbatore during the last two days. When he and his friends gave expression to the prevailing sentiment of the non-Brahmin community—a sentiment, which had existed a very long time and which they only brought out and made manifest, there were people, who compared them to the three tailors of Tooley Street, with a following of half a dozen people behind them, trying artificially to create a movement in this presidency. He wished that the people, who said so, could have been here during the last two days to see the half a dozen scattered followers they had in this presidency. They were quite gratified at the number of people, who followed their movement in one district. They were convinced that, in almost every other district, they would have an equally enthusiastic and an equally numerous following. Now, what was the Non-Brahmin Movement? Since coming to Coimbatore he had been asked that question and also what was the special occasion for the movement now. He proposed to answer that question. The question, he would remind them, was only in connection with the Non-Brahmin Movement. They had not been asked what was the Non-Brahmin Sentiment, because that was as old as Manu.

A people, who had been kept down by a certain superior class under threat of penalties in hell, they realised what the Non-Brahmin Sentiment was. That sentiment had always been in this country, and even in its practical application to general politics they had only to go a few years back and look at the evidence given before the Public Service Commission by their non-Brahmin representatives. Without consultation with each other, without collaboration and without previous concoction, their representatives demanded the same thing that the Conference demanded to-day, namely, communal representation. They showed that the Non-Brahmin Sentiment was there. Then they would ask, why not let that same feeling lie dormant and why have it made manifest now in a practical manner? During all these years non-Brahmins were looking up to the British Government, who had rescued them from a position of practical servitude and had elevated them on a footing of equality with the other communities. Non-Brahmins were looking to the British Government for protection, to hold the scales evenly and to meet out justice, but when they saw a movement progressing, whose object was to undermine British influence and power in this country, they thought it their duty to rally round the British Government and to support them. They felt they ought to give the British Government all the support they could for crushing out any movement in this country, which was calculated to undermine and supplant them.

He believed that all non-Brahmins, who had felt the relief given to them, by the intervention of the British, from the order of supremacy imposed on them by the Brahmins, would realise that was their duty. Because they realise this and because they had come to the support of the Government in this supreme moment, they had been repeatedly accused that their movement had been engineered by Government. No body had engineered their movement excepting the Directorate of the South Indian People's Association. They did not require any outside engineering, they could stand on their own legs and they could command enough brains to carry on their own movement. On the other hand, he had his suspicions that the so-called Home Rule Movement was engineered by some one. When the real people, who were engineering the Home Rule Movement, were unmasked, the non-Brahmins would be thankful that they were not among them. In conclusion, Dr. Nair appealed to them to give their hearty support to the Non-Brahmin Movement

and to the newspapers, which had been started to champion their cause.

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The Conference then terminated. Its successful organization at the shortest notice was largely due to the personal influence and the exertions of the Zamindar of Uttukuli, the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

The Bikkavole Conference

(The First Godavari Non-Brahmin Conference)

(27th & 28th October 1917)

This Conference, which was the second to be held under the auspices of the Non-Brahmin Movement, began its sittings, amidst scenes of great enthusiasm, in the spacious pandal, erected near the Bikkavole railway station, which had been decorated with numerous loyal and national emblems, on 27th October 1917.

The Kumara Rajah of Challapalli, who presided, arrived in the morning from Madras and at the railway station was accorded a most flattering reception. The precincts of the railway station had been gorgeously decorated and the Union Jack was prominent every-where. After having been garlanded by Rai Sahib M. Venkataratnam Naidu, Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Kumara Rajah was conducted to his quarters. The procession was over three furlongs in length and was headed by a richly caparisoned elephant, specially sent for the occasion by the Rajah of Pithapuram. After chota hasri the procession reformed and proceeded through the principal streets of Bikkavole, everywhere meeting with a most enthusiastic welcome At 11-30 there was an inter-caste breakfast, at which all the delegates and the visitors, irrespective of caste and creed, ate together.

The proceedings of the Conference began in the afternoon at 1-30 p. m. The huge pandal was packed to its full capacity. The registered delegates alone numbered over 2000 and included all the leading ryots and agriculturists of the district, as also a number of delegates from the Telugu districts other than Godavari. There was also present a large contingent of visitors from Madras and other places. While taking his seat in the Presidential Chair, the Kumara Rajah was repeatedly cheered.

Amongst the leading men accommodated on the dais were :—

Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti
Rao Bahadur R. Venkataratnam Naidu of Coconada
Rao Bahadur K. Surianarayanamurthi Naidu of Coconada
Rai Bahadur K. V. Reddi Naidu of Ellore

Rai Sahib M Venkataratnam Naidu of Rajahmundry
The Zamindar of Katravulapalli
Professor K. Ramamurthi
Mr. P. Ramarayaningar
" A. P. Patro of Berhampore
" T. Ethiraja Mudaliar of Madras
" T. A. Ramalinga Chetti of Coimbatore
" A. C Parthasaradhi Naidu of Madras.
" Achanta Subbarayudu of Madras
" K. Ramachandra Rao of Rajahmundry
" K. Lakshmipathi of Rajahmundry
" K. V. R. Swami, Bar-at-law, of Rajahmundry
" M. Rangiah Naidu of Rajahmuudry
" P. C. Venkatanarayana of Coconada
" P. Chakrapani Naidu of Coconada
" M. Gangaraju of Ellore
" K. Bhaskara Ramamurthi Naidu of Coconada
" K. Appa Rao Naidu of Ramachandrapuram
" B. Venkataratnam of Ramachandrapuram
" D. Krishnamurthi of Coconada
" W. Nagabhushanam
" C. Natesan of Madras
Dr. Jayaramaswami Naidu of Rajahmundry
Dr. Joshi of Ramachandrapuram
The Deputy Collector of Peddapuram
The Tahsildar of Ramachandrapuram
The Dy. Tahsildar of Bikkavole

After prayer by Rao Bahadur R. Venkataratnam Naidu and others, Rai Saheb M. Venkataratnam Naidu, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, read his Welcome Address.

Welcome Address

Ladies and Gentlemen,

"On behalf of the Reception Committee, I beg to offer you a most hearty welcome. The gentlemen constituting the Committee and the residents of Bikkavole feel very happy indeed that they have this privilege, for the first time in the annals of these parts, of welcoming the elect of their brethren, the representatives of every non-Brahmin community, to this ancient village of Reddis, Kapus and Kammas, standing on the banks of the main canal issuing from the sacred and noble river Godavari. I assure you, brethren, that we are very much elated with joy, not without a sense of gratitude, that you have all readily responded to our humble invitation at such short notice, cheerfully and

enthusiastically, as the teeming numbers here before us testify, and all this, notwithstanding the unusual inclemency of the weather.

"Speaking for myself, I cannot adequately express my feelings of pleasure and pride at this unique honor you have conferred on me to greet you all. The only circumstance that affects that joy is the consciousness that I am not worthy of this honor. Another drawback that damps my enthusiasm is the consciousness that there are many defects in the arrangements made for your reception and accommodation. In fact, man is liable to err and most earnestly do I beseech you all to overlook our short-comings, to accept the will for the deed and to attribute our imperfections to the head and the shortness of the time at our disposal, and not to the heart. Gentlemen, you may imagine the many difficulties which we, in a village like Bikkavole, are apt to be confronted with, and it will not be too much on my part to request you to be indulgent to your inexperienced hosts in a spirit of fellow-feeling well worthy of comrades in a common cause for a common end. In this connection, it is with a deep sense of sore bereavement that I mention to you the immense loss we have sustained in the sudden demise of our beloved brother, the much lamented Mr. Goluguri Bapiraju, whose unbounded enthusiasm and promise of co-operation were the main inducements for the selection of this place.

"Brethren many of you may have been aware of the various forces at work that have brought us here to this Conference, but it would not be out of place to dwell on them a little to acquit myself of the burden you have imposed upon me as best I can. Before narrating the circumstances that led to this Conference, I must, once for all, remove the misconception that may be prevalent among our Brahmin friends, that this meeting is convened with a spirit of hatred or antagonism towards them, and let me assure them that, throughout, we are entirely actuated by no other than genuine feelings of safeguarding our own interests—the interests of the non-Brahmin communities, especially of the depressed classes.

"Brethren, we are living in a time unparalleled in the world's history. All the mighty nations in the world are engaged in a tremendous war, the magnitude and the ultimate consequences of which, it is still too early for us to conceive. But of one thing we are certain, that our British Raj has entered upon it, not with the idea of usurping the territory of the smaller nations, nor with the motives of self-

aggrandisement, but purely with the laudable object of defending the weak and the poor and establishing righteousness and freedom by rescuing civilisation from barbarism. Brethren, we have really no conception of the blood and the money that are being poured forth for achieving the said objects. Our foremost duty, nay, our only duty at this juncture, should be to help the Government in all possible ways to bring that terrible war to a successful termination. Let me review what we (Indians) have done till now. We have never shirked the opportunity graciously given to us to fight along with the British and their allies against the common enemy. We have boldly faced the situation, marched on to the battle fields of Europe, Asia and Africa; and our men have acquitted themselves admirably well. One and all of us here and outside should feel proud of it, as almost all of those that shed their blood there are non-Brahmins. Most of the money that was contributed from here towards the War Fund and Hospital Ships was also from the non-Brahmin Zamindars, Chiefs and others. But there is still much to be done, perhaps much more than what has already been done. There is no knowing when this War would be brought to an end and when the British and their allies would realise their cherished desires. You will be able to understand it better if I give you the following forecast given by Sir Edward Carson published in the "Justice" of October, 22.—

> " If this war is to put an end to all war, if, in the Prime Minister's phrase, there is to be 'no next time,' it must be waged until the German military power has been sufficiently crushed to make fresh aggression by her impossible for a long time to come. When this has been achieved, it may be possible for a league of nations to be established, with some reasonable hope of being able to safeguard a peace thus set on a durable foundation.'

" Brethren, at this critical hour in the day, what do our so-called leaders ask us to do! " 'Agitate' and 'Agitate' and wring a promise from the Government that the Indians be granted 'Home Rule' immediately after the War." Now, the question arises: Are we fit for 'Home Rule' and what would be the consequences, if we are given it before we are fit for it? A short prelude on the nature of 'Government' in general is necessary before we take up the question on hand. It is a matter of common knowledge that there are three forms of Government evidenced by the history of the



RAI SAHIB
M. VENKATARATHNAM NAIDU, B.A., B.L.,
Chairman of the Reception Committee,
First Godavari Non-brahmin Conference,
held at Bikkavole, on 27th & 28th October, 1917.

world, the government by one man, the government by the few and the government by the many These are respectively a Monarchy, an Aristocracy and a Democracy. The present day demands of the 'Home-Rulers' correspond to the connotation of the term "Democracy". I am the last man to deny that the ideal form of government is that in which the sovereignty or the supreme controlling power is, in the last resort, vested in the entire aggregate of the community, every citizen not only having a voice in the exercise of that ultimate sovereignty, but also being, at least occasionally, called on to take an actual part in the government by the personal discharge of some public function, local or general. The first element of a good government being the virtue and intelligence of the human beings composing the community, the most important criterion of excellence, which any form of government can show, is by promoting the virtue and the intelligence of the people themselves. The one idea that suggests itself to any man, with reference to any political institution, is how far it tends to foster, in the members of the community, the various desirable qualities, moral, intellectual and social. The Government, which does this best, has the right to be called the best, since all possibility of goodness and efficiency in the practical operations of the Government depends on these qualities in the people. To such a government, either the Monarchy or the Aristocracy or the Democracy has equal claims. But which form of government is required by a particular community depends upon the moral and intellectual qualities which the members have developed. Let us, therefote, see whether we have attained that state of development, which deserves a representative government or the Home Rule of Mrs. Annie Besant.

" You know, Brethren, that India (from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin) is inhabited not only by the Hindus but also by the Mahomedans, the Parsis, the Christians and some others of other religions. Those that embrace Hindu religion are called Hindus and the bulk of the population inhabiting India are Hindus. The Hindus consist of different races, speaking different languages, inhabiting different parts of India. It is absurd to group all the Hindus under one nation and they can never become one nation; but for the advent of the British, we, Andhras, could have never spoken to a Tamilian or a Malayali or a Bengali. India is in reality a continent of different nations. It was so described even in the Mahabharata. Now let us consider the case of

each race speaking a common lauguage. Even such a race (for instance, the Andhras) is made up of innumerable communities. What is it that is common between these communities, except religion and language? They are distinct entities complete in themselves and exclusive of others Every one of the sub-castes in the five main castes constituting the Hindus is such an entity. Can the total of these communities be called a nation? What is the test of a nationality? John Stuart Mill says that "a portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nationality, if they are united among themselves by common sympathies, which do not exist between them and any others, which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same government and desire that it should be government by themselves or a portion of themselves exclusively"

"Now I ask of you, Brethren, to tell me honestly "Do our present relations between caste and caste give rise to such sympathies?" The answer should be "Decidedly not." In some villages the lower castes are looked down upon by the higher castes The pariahs are given no place in the human category Let us go nearer and ask ourselves whether such sympathies do arise between a sub-caste and another sub-caste of the same caste—among the pariahs themselves, between malas and madigas. They are most exclusive and rigid. The malas do not touch the well used by madigas.

"I was the President of the Taluk Board, Rajahmundry, for nearly three years, and, as such, I visited about five hundred villages, including hamlets, in the Taluks of Rajahmundry, Razole and Amalapur. I became personally acquainted with the state of society there. How one caste looks down upon the other!, The higher castes treat sometimes the members of the lower castes as not even human beings. In such societies, can we ever expect that sympathy which is the ground work of a nationality? When I suggested formation of 'Unions' in some of these villages, the so-called leading people of some of them said "Good gracious, don't introduce it. That will be a source of jobbery and oppression. Where are such impartial men to administer our village affairs?" In the present state of society, who can be called upon to weigh others' interests as he does his own, without becoming a prey to the "all potent rule of self-interest", to be guided in cases of conflicting claims by another rule than his private partialities, and to apply at every turn principles and maxims which determine

the common good? Instead, the man never thinks of any collective interest and of common objects to be pursued jointly with others, but always of competition going on for gain to one's self at a loss to the others. To what is all this due? Is it not due to the exclusiveness of each caste? What is this exclusiveness due to? Want of inter-dining and inter-marriage between caste and caste and sub-caste and sub-caste. But I see that sympathy, the chief characteristic of nationality, in every one of the sub-castes. As I said above, every community or the sub-caste is an entity complete in itself. The conservatives among us sometimes compare the western classes with the eastern castes. That is an absurd analogy. The western classes must and do exist in every society. In every one of these communities or sub-castes there are the western classes. Kulapeddalu of every sub-caste of a community correspond to priest hood. Wealthy men among them correspond to aristocracy. Those that have enough means to live correspond to the middle classes. The menials in every sub-caste, who do cooking and other menial work for higher classes, correspond to the lower orders. We see thus these four classes in all castes, from the highest Brahmins to the lowest pariahs The beauty of these classes consists in the classes not being exclusive. A cook in the Brahmin caste may become a middle class man, if he amasses some wealth; if he acquires some more wealth, he may get into a class higher. If he learns Vedas and "Purohityam," he may get into the priest class. So also in the other castes from the lowest to the highest. So you see, Brethren, that our sub-castes are complete in themselves, and there are western classes in every one of them. When we hear of caste panchayats and their success, it may be remembered that it is the Kulapeddalu that constitute them. What does this show? There would be that broad sympathy, the chief characteristic of nationality, only in cases where there would be unity in food and blood. It is only in such cases that members of that community have confidence in their representatives. Free institutions are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities. The conditions necessary for a representative government are, as Mr. Mill puts it, the following—

"[1] That the people must be willing to receive it.

[2] That they should be willing and be able to do what is necessary for its preservation.

[3] That they should be willing and able to fulful the duties and discharge the functions which it imposes upon them."

"These conditions assume, firstly, that they are all of one community united by the common sympathies above described, and, secondly ,that all the members, or, at any rate, the majority of the community, have developed the necessary qualities fot representative government. We may leave Madras Presidency out of the question, and let us take the Andhras and see whether we have attained to those conditions. Our Andhras of the eleven Telugu districts consist of the following castes, with their numerical strength—

Brahmins .	4,60,000
Kshatrias and Rajus ...	2,50,000
Vysias [Komatlu] ...	5,00,000
Kapus ... Kammas ... Balijas ... Telagas ... Gollas ... Velamas ...	70,00,000
and	
Other classes coming under the denomination of so called Sudras.	34.00,000
Panchamas (Malas and Madigas) ...	24,00,000

"Do these conditions exist among them taken as a whole? Without wasting much of your time, I may say at once 'No.' Some time ago, there was an attempt to blend these differ nt communities into one whole, so as to generate that broad sympathy, the chief characteristic of nationality. Our orthodox friends have moved heaven and earth to oppose it and see it dropped. It was an attempt made by that level headed politician, who advised us not to be boisterous in our agitations—I mean the Hon'ble Babu Bupendra Nath Basu, now in the Council of the Secretary of State for India. The attempt made was the introduction of a Bill to legalise the marriages between members of different castes and sub-castes and legitimatize their offspring. You know how it was opposed and how eventually it was dropped. What is it that influenced our friends to oppose it? Is it anythfng other than self interest ? Is it not from a feeling that it would be a death blow to the caste ? Is it not from a desire to keep their caste and birth right of supremacy in tact? If it had been passed, how it would have tended to blend these castes and sub-castes into one—no matter the blending may take a century or two for its completion. Now what has our priest-

hood done in its place? They have installed their Varnashrama Dharma in its primitive glory. What do these show? Is it to bring us up and make us all one homogenous whole? What did that legal luminary, whom I always admire for his shrewdness and who now sits at the head of the learned profession, I mean Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, the Advocate-General, say, when he presided over the Conference held in the Anderson Hall on 6-9-17 under the auspices of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association. Did he not say then that social reform was the basis for all progress? Did he not say also then that, so long as caste system prevails in its full vigour, there could be no such thing as the unification of the peoples in the land? Brethren, don't you admit that opposition to Basu's Bill and the installation of the Varnashrama Dharma are steps tending towards retrogression, both social and political?

"For improving the mental capacity of the masses so as to befit them for a representative government, what have our Brahmin friends done and how are we better! What about Panchamas and the backward classes, which are 38 out of the 42 millions of our presidency? Is the bulk of the population fit for Home Rule? Can you honestly say that we are fit for Home Rule, when the bulk of the people is steeped in ignorance and illiteracy? If, under these circumstances, the British Raj gives you the representative government and hands over to you those millions of backward classes, what would be the consequence? It would in all probability rivet their degradation and leave them no chance of decent treatment except ridding themselves one of the most valuable elements of future advancement. Brethren, if the era of aspirations to free government arrives before the fusion of communities has been effected, the opportunity has gone by for effecting it. Government by a limited class is sure to break down by corruption. They would use it solely as a means of seeking their fortune. This is what history tells us. I have been a pleader for the last thirty-seven years, from 1880 up to now, during which I have studied the character of men from the highest to the lowest. During this time I can give you instances where people had more confidence in Europeans than in Indians, when placed in places of trust and authorly. I think it would be unfair not to say in this connection that this opinion was shared by some of my Brahmin friends also. I give you a small episode which took place the other day. A few months ago, I was Chairman Delegate of Rajahmundry Municipality. In my time, as Chairman Delegate, there

were some municipal elections. At one of these elections there were about six candidates, some of whom were Brahmins and the others non-Brahmins. On the day on which the ballot box was to be opened, one of the Brahmin candidates approached me to say that he would go and bring the European Divisional Officer to be present with me, as people had more confidence in him. I said quietly "please yourself". To my great amusement I have learnt that he is a Home Ruler out and out. I think he is quite right. I don't blame him. He has spoken not only his mind but also the mind of the people. In the present state of society, that would be the feeling of the people. Brethren, if, under these circumstances, any body is to say that a Brahmin Oligarchy, or, for the matter of that, a non Brahmin Oligarchy, could not work well and that people as a whole would prefer European Oligarchy, where is the occasion for resentment? Nothing but a simple truth is spoken. I am surprised to see that my old friend, the editor of the Patriot, frowns at the letter signed and published by such great men as Dewan Bahadur Rajaratna Mudaliar, C. I. E., and others, who have simply expressed the above truth, and advises the non-Brahmins of the muffusal not to see such doctrines spread in their name. How could any one stop the spread of truth; the less said about it, the better.

"You all know, Brethren, how some of our friends get into local boards and legislative councils. No voter has yet attained that standard of character, which would enable him to be guided only by merit or efficiency in selecting the candidate. It is misleading to call these gentlemen, who get into these councils, leaders, and that they rightly represent the people who select them. In fact, there is not that public spirit generated in us to make one a leader, and the others his following. In the present state of society it is impossible to have that spirit. Every one of us thinks that he is fit to be a leader and wants to become one. Have our so called leaders attained that standard of character necessary for considering the wants and grievances of these innumerable communities and suggesting remedies for them from that standpoint of impartiality? As I said above, it is impossible to attain that standard in the present state of society. Under these circumstances, is it wrong to say that we are not fit for immediate Home Rule? Put this question frankly to the conscience of the so-called Home Rulers, and see what it whispers. I am afraid you can not hear the whispers, unless you invoke the aid of their Guru. In putting the question,

tell them to give up that demon of obstruction to all progress, namely, self-interest. Let them bear also in mind that he is one of the forty millions.

"When the exclusiveness of caste and caste, nay, of sub-caste and sub-caste, is so rigid, can the interests of so many millions be entrusted to a few of the higher castes? We are, after all, human. It is impossible to forget the maxim and give it a lie, that charity begins at home. What is your home? Your home is your caste. When you are among your caste men, you feel you are at home. When you are among other people, you feel irksome and want to get away. Theosophy has, of late, much added to this spirit of irksomeness. So each man feels his caste his home. The feeling is quite natural and justifiable. When there is an opportunity for unity in food and blood, that feeling of home comes.

"Brethren, under these circumstances, there is no other alternative than to make Home Rule our ultimate goal and go on improving and blending these communities into one. As you advance and show your progress towards that end, the government would be sure to give you such a measure of representative government as would be commensurate with your progress. In the instalments of privileges and offices you get from the government from time to time, you must go on distributing them evenly among all the communities. Unless you do it, the backward classes would not come up and there would be no stimulus for them to come up. If you don't do it, these backward communities would be a drag on you in reaching the goal and yon can never reach the goal. Let us all, therefore, try to get as much as we can, consistently with the advancement and development of qualities necessary for progress, both social and political, which these innumerable communities have made, and leave the rest in the hands of the British bureaucracy, as our friends are pleased to call it, trusting to their sense of duty and justice.

"As this is the time when we are going to be honoured by a visit from the King's Minister, with a view to adjust the relations between the rulers and the ruled and to chalk out the lines on which the post-war reforms are to be made, in consultation with the Viceroy and the public bodies, we have to bestir ourselves and formulate a scheme of proposals as to what we need immediately without compromising the various interests of the different communities. It is for the consideration of all these important questions and for the

formation of a permanent District Association exclusively from these non-Brahmin communities that this Conference is convened.

"With this preface, Brethren, I leave the question of Home Rule and its allied subjects, including communal representation, for the consideration of the President to be elected and brother delegates. Fortunately for us, we have secured as our President a gentleman of a very high order of intelligence and character, belonging to an ancient Zamindari family, one of the foremost in the Circars. Now I feel secure in the hands of our Zamindar President for the conduct of the business of the Conference, and let us proceed to elect him.

"Before doing it, let me thank you all for the patient hearing you have given me. Brethren, I beg to resume my seat."

Telegrams and letters from all over the presidency were then read, and these expressed entire sympathy with the objects of the Conference The telegrams were from the following, amongst others :—D. T. M. Nair, Rao Bahadur M. G. Arogiasami Pillai of Coimbatore, Mr. P. M. Sivagnanam Pillai and Mr. V. Tirumalai Pillai. The telegram from Dr. T. M. Nair was received with deafening cheers, and it ran as follows :—

> "Wish the Conference success in its programme to keep the authority of the British Government unimpaired and to secure for non-Brahmins adequate representation on public bodies and in the public services. Advance Non-Brahmins".

Sri S. R. Y. Ankinedu Prasad Bahadur, B. A., was then proposed by the Zamindar of Katravulapalli to preside over the deliberations of the Conference. The motion was seconded by Professor K. Ramamurthi and supported by Dr. Joshi, and was carried with acclamation. The President then rose amidst vociferous cheers and read his Address.

Presidential Address

"Gentlemen,—I thank you heartily for the honour you have done me by electing me to the Presidential chair of this Conference. When this offer first came to me, I hesitated for a while to accept it, not that I was wanting in zeal or enthusiasm for this mighty Non-Brahmin Movement, which was always close to my heart, but because I feared that I was lacking in such abilities as would entitle me to speak with

authority on an occasion like this. All objections on this account were of no use, as I had to respond to your call, and so I am here amidst you. As I have accepted this chair with the full consciousness of my unfitness to the task entrusted to me, I crave your indulgence for my shortcomings.

NON-BRAHMIN HISTORY

"Yon are all aware that we, Non-Brahmins, have assembled here for the first time in the Telugu country, to concert such measures as are necessary for the uplifting of our communities as a whole, for safeguarding our rights and privileges, and for demanding such as are not enjoyed by us at present. With a view to have a clear conception of our drawbacks or wants, it is worth while to ponder for a while over our past history, our present condition and our future development. To enter upon a consideration of these matters, it is impossible for any one not to deal with their social status and their economic condition. From our religious works, such as Puranas and Sastras, and from the light thrown by historic works, one is inclined to arrive at the conclusion that the position allotted to non-Brahmin communities at all times in the social scale has been one of absolute subordination, so much so that they have been looked upon by the superior caste as having been born to minister to their wants and needs. From the accredited religious work of the modern times, viz., the sacred Gita of Sree Krishna, it would be seen that the four castes were formed according to the work that was carried on by each caste and that all the other three castes had some kind of business set apart, but the superior priestly caste had only to sit, meditate or write, or, in other words, had to bring on salvation not only for themselves but for others also. So, from the arrival of the Brahmins in India, they have been looked upon as priests, whose chief duty is meditation and study, always cultivating or improving their brains, while the other classes were asked to provide for the means of livelihood in the country. Such being their self-imposed function, it is no wonder that they as a class obtained the supremacy of intellect, while it remained stagnant in the case of the other communities. Conscious of their superior brains and of their dignified priestly position, they, as human beings, always tried their best to preserve knowledge for themselves, excluding other communities from drinking it from the fountain of learning, thus becoming highly exclusive in views, in habits and in the conduct of life. This process went on undiminished till the advent of the British in India.

CAUSES FOR THE NON-BRAHMIN UPHEAVAL

"With the British supremacy came also a different civilisation and different ideals of life, and whatever might have been the ways of thought and the conduct of life up to this time, the comingling of the West and the East has been also instrumental in introducing a change in the life of the country. Such being the alteration brought about in the thought and in the mode of existence in the country, the class, which always kept its mental activities unabated, quickly took to the changed conditions introduced in the educational system, so much so that the provisions made in schools for the training of the mind according to western ideas were availed of by it to its utmost advantage. In spite of the freedom of learning set on foot for all classes, the members of the priestly castes alone have had all the advantage, having brains fed and nurtured by knowledge for ages together. The net result of this fresh change is the large production of the English educated men. So, the brain power, which they possessed all along, and the facilities thrown open in furtherance thereof, have stimulated their rapid progress in such a way that all the loaves and fishes in the public and private services and the lucrative practice at the bar have fallen to their lot, thus giving them a good deal of social and political power in the country. This wielding of an undue influence in the social and political life has naturally struck fear in the minds of non-Brahmins, whose eyes have been opened to their subordinate position and who have been now awakened to self-consciousness and self-respect. Their unimportant position in society, in services and at the bar, their continued defeat in public elections and their meagre representation in local bodies and in the Legislative Councils set their brains to think, and while they were in this mood, the war came on along with the bursting of the serious Home Rule propaganda. Conscious of their inferior position and want of influence, they were thrown into consternation by the reckless agitation and began to apprehend the consequences of the immediate granting of Home Rule. All these internal as well as external causes operated on them to move, as restlessness could not be put under restraint for ever. " And so, the pent up feeling of years past at last burst itself in the publication of the famous Non-Brahmin Manifesto in December last, by which a good deal of commotion has been created in certain quarters, and in certain others the event has been looked upon as the beginning of a new era of brfghtness and enlightenment. Whatever might have been the opinion

formed thereon, it has been the cause for the stimulation of that amount of previous thought, which is necessary for the solid formation of an edifice. Such being the laws of causation and effect, the thought that has been stirred up and the mind that has been stimulated to exercise have crystalised into the establisment of a costly press and the publication of three dailies, Justice, Dravidan & Andhraprakasika.

NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT.

"The Non-Brahmin Movement has a bright future before it, if well directed with enthusiasm and with proper circumspection. No doubt, it has had to experience turmoils and difficulties brought on by misunderstanding and misrepresentation, and engineered by certain interested bodies. These are the passing phases in every movement, which has to make its headway through vested interests and accredited dogmas, and it will come out in glowing colours through the search light of criticism and interested misrepresentation, as the movement is sound and based on sure foundations of justice and righteousness. From the beneficial work already achieved during the short term of eight months, hopes are created as to its prolonged life As expected, it has already opened the eyes of the thinking public as well as the Government to the greatest injustice done to our communities in the matter of appointments and in the election of representatives to serve on public bodies. It has stimulated a desire on the part of non-Brahmins to combine and organise for their uplift, and it has paved the way for the urging of the communal representation by the new non Brahmin association. It has succeeded in making the political bodies yield to the cry of communal representation, a conclusion, whieh was not expected so soon to follow. Above all, it has generated a feeling of self-respect and a unity of interests among all non-Brahmin communities. Still, there is a good deal of work, social, economical, industrial and polilical, to be done before it, and signs of undertaking it are not wanting.

INDIAN ASPIRATION

"From immemorial times India has been snbjected to monarchical rule or the rule of one man. From the puranic period and from the later historic times evidence has been forthcoming as to the one man's rule, to which the people of India has become long accustomed, but the rulers, even in those days, were expected to observe certain duties towards the people, over whom they exercised their sway, and to be

consulting their ministers and learned scholars for the various acts, which they wished to promulgate in the interests of the country. This sort of administration went on up to the establishment of the British rule, under which new methods and forms of administration were introduced. Until the formation of the Legislative Councils and their expansion by the Minto-Morley reforms in the year 1909, the Government of the country was somewhat rigid, or, what is now called, entirely bureaucratic in tone and spirit. But, with the introduction of the last instalment of reforms, a new life was brought into the councils by their enlargement and by the power of moving resolutions on various public questions and by the appointment of non-official members to sit on budget committees. But it is thought afterwards by some that the concessions granted are not sufficient to lay down a policy in the management of the country, though at the time much satis faction had been expressed over them. For these reasons, among others, the politicians have commenced to ask for greater enlargement of the councils with more powers. While this agitation had been going on, new forces have come to play on the political arena and fresh ideas of government have been imbibed, owing to the clashing of the nations in this bloody war, which is convulsing the whole world to its very depths. In all these countries people have begun to demand the popularisation of their respective governments, with the belief that such democratic forms of government would not readily lend themselves to violent ruptures between one nation and another, and this belief has been strengthened by the utterances of the English statesmen, like Messrs. Asquith,. Lloyd George, Balfour, Chamberlain, etc. All such statements have found ready favour with the young educated India, whose natural aspirations have been greatly nourished thereby. So the ideas of absolute democracy made their way into places wherein no shelter was found formerly. This all-pervading spirit of the government by the people has recived its fresh support and stimulus from the strong utterences of the Home Rulers and made some among the educated to cherish a desire for complete Self-Government to be granted, as early as possible, irrespective of the fitness of the country. At the same time, the conservative and the stable elements in the country have begun to suspect its consequences, though they are not averse to another instalment of liberal reforms.

IS INDIA FIT FOR COMPLETE HOME RULE?

"While realising the new s irit that has come into the country, it is worth while to investigate as to how far it is spontaneous and how far it is the result of forced conditions. It is well known that all the level-headed politicians were mightily pleased with the reforms introduced under the Minto Morley scheme, for they had transcended their expec. tations. Slight dissatisfaction continued to be expressed here and there regarding the difficulties experienced in the execution of the scheme as far as the Legislative Councils were concerned. Beyond this, there was no general cry raised up to the commencement of the present titanic war in 1914. With the war a general cry for complete Home Rule was sought to be manufactured and a good deal of agitation was set up for this purpose, both on the platform and in the press. In consequence of this, the Congress and the Muslim League passed from the hands of the moderates, and the extremist party succeeded in getting the scheme of reforms, now in the air, passed according to their discretion, without caring for their workableness or not. Even the opinion of men like the late Messrs. Mehta and Gokhale were ridiculed, and the people were made to imagine that they were fit to manage their country without any training whatever. Practically they were asked to show their powers of fitness without any kind of experience, as if proficiency in the art of self-governing could be acquired by getting by heart the theories and principles laid down in books on Self-Government.

"To feel that India is fit for the immediate granting of Home Rule, three conditions appear to be necessary. The first consideration is whether India has had any true Self-Government in former times, and, if so, whether that experi. ence would warrant further progress in this direction. From studying history, it is known that India was never ruled under the modern system of pure Self-Government, though there is evidence to show that it had some kind of a panchayat system, prevalent in villages, to look after their local interests. As I stated already, the rule in India was greatly monarchical under the Hindu Kings, though they were expected to consult their priests in matters of social legislation. It is asked, Ireland is demanding Self-Government, why should we not make such a demand? We all know that conditions in Ireland are quite different from ours. In Ireland they had a system of Self-Government till 1800. Though it is practically a question of restoration, the

Irish nation have not yet come to a practical solution over the matter, on account of their religious differences. Such being the fact, the case is far worse in India, wherein the racial and sectarian differences are quite enormous and more serious.

"The second consideration is one of unity of the nation. For us, who are acquainted with the inner life of the people, it is quite conclusive that there are several communal and sectarian differences existing, though we are accustomed to the talk of the Indian nation. From our experience, we gather that there is not one Indian people, but there are scores of Indian peoples, talking different languages and observing diverse customs, thereby giving scope for difference of thought and action. Under the present social conditions, caste and interests are generally combined, which would not ordinarily lead to unity and sympathy.

"The third consideration is that the people should be sufficiently educated to make use of the franchise that is to be extended, or else there is the danger of a few people of similar temperament getting elected and there will be no guarantee as to the proper use of the voting power. In India, the men, who have any stake in the country, and the masses are not properly educated, and so long as they are incapable of exercising their power of voting to their advantage, any noisy demagogue, without any interest in the country, may get himself elected and prove himself unworthy of the trust reposed in him. From our short experience of the Local Boards and Legislative Councils, we are able to see how members of one community have always tried and succeeded in getting elected by other communities, in spite of candidates belonging to the latter, who were in the field. Hence has arisen the cry for communal representation to which I will revert later on. In this connection, it is advisable to call back to mind the following advice given by Lord Islington, Under Secretary of State for India, in his last lecture at Oxford. His Lordship said;—"The world to-day has a tragic lesson presented to it, a lesson, of which all responsible leaders in every country must take account. Russia, in her effort to extricate herself from an autocratic system, has allowed herself to be hurled headlong into anarchy by the extremists of her country. I would, therefore, earnestly and sympathetically say to those in India, who to-day are advocating extreme measures of reform, to be patient and to be reasonable. Limit your influence and assistance to those measures, which are practical towards the solution of the problem. The end in view can best be

reached by gradual and moderate steps. It is suggested by some that nothing short of constitutional Self-Government should suffice and that this should be established in India at an early date. You cannot transform a highly centralised bureaucracy into a set of decentralised Self-Government systems in the passing of a night. If any British Government were to attempt such a task, were to allow themselves in a nervous spirit to act against their judgment and experience in the face of agitation, they would indeed betray the trust that has been imposed upon them". If the British Government were to yield unfortunately to the cry of Home Rule and give complete Self-Government now, the whole country would be thrown into a confusion by the destinies of the millions of ignorant people falling into the hands of an inexperienced and selfish oligarchy, and it is feared that the anarchical outbursts taking place in Russia may be repeated in a peaceful country like India. The work of the British statesmanship within the last 150 years will be undone to the detriment of the best interests in the country, and no true son of India would wish for such catastrophic changes to be introduced in the constitution now. While speaking against the immediate granting of Home Rule, it is not my intention to say that India is not fit for another instalment of liberal constitutional changes, for which the country is well prepared, and so, while realising that complete Self-Government under colonial system is our goal, we should now press for another set of concessions.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

"The most burning question of the day is the reforms to be introduced after the end of the war. Up to now the public are not aware as to the lines upon which these reforms will run. But we have the assurance of the goal of Self-Government to be reached in course of time, step by step, as the people gain knowledge and experience, and this recognition of principle by the Secretary of State for India, in his recent communique, and by the Viceroy, in his last speech delivered at the Simla session of the Imperial Legislative Council, is highly encouraging and should be looked upon as the beginning of a new era of existence in the annals of India. In his skiful way, the Viceroy divides these reforms into three divisions.

LOCAL BODIES

"The first step is the greater freedom to be given to the village and urban local bodies, whose progress on the lines of full Self-Government will be accelerated. This is as it ought to be, for the Government of India have not done all

that was in their power to give full scope for the development of these bodies. They have not been worked on the lines of freedom as anticipated by Lord Ripon, and the government interference in the matter of details has actually curbed their useful activities. It has kept away all self-respecting men and taken away all sense of responsibility, so much that the spirit of initiation is not seen anywhere. If these local institutions should form the training ground for the higher forms of government and should be of real use to the country, the needless control of the details should be dispensed with, while the Government retain the power of review and interference at the time of emergency.

PUBLIC SERVICES

The second road, along which the reforms should run, as indicated by the Viceroy, is the steady increase of the Indians in the higher and more responsible posts in every department of Government. By this remark of H. E. the Viceroy, the apprehensions caused in the public mind, with regard to the unsatisfactory report of the Public Services Commission, were allayed to a certain extent. Though the report had given rise to a good deal of dissatisfaction, yet some portions of it are favourable to non-Brahmins. For, while throwing open some appointments to selection by competitive examinations, some posts have been set apart to be filled up by nomination under certain conditions. By this latter arrangement, there is every likelihood of the non-Brahmins being appointed to such posts. If more seats are to be filled up by competition, the number of appointments by selection should also be increased, so that the non-Brahmins may avail themselves of the opportunities thrown open to serve the country.

"In this connection, it will not be out of place to make a reference to the discussions which took place recently in the Viceroy's Council, at which the view expressed by the members representing this presidency are not so favourable to non-Brahmin classes as a whole. It is, however, gratifying that the Government have been aware of the great injustice done to them hitherto by not insisting on communal representation in the matter of these services, as evidenced by the remarks made by the Hon'ble Mr. E. Couchman. In the Non-Brahmin Manifesto published last year, statistics were quoted from the Hon'ble Mr. Alexander Cardew's evidence before the Public Services Commission, showing how poor was the representation of the non-Brahmins in all the public services, and how they fared in all the competitiv

examinations, and how unsatisfactory were the results of such examinations for these classes. Even to-day the same deplorable state of things continues, as shown in the various statistics published from time to time in "Justice." Such being the unfair representation in the services, the time has come for conferences like this to pass resolutions urging on the attention of the Govenment the necessity for reserving a fair percentage in all public services to non-Brahmins, and to make a selection not only by competitive examination, but also by nomination, having regard to the character, parentage and status of the canditate, among other qualifications. It is criticised in some quarters that we are attaching an undue importance to services. In a poor country like India, with a galaxy of the highly paid services, they cannot be passed over so very lightly. Further, service means not only a decent salary, it carries with it a certain amount of political influence for which we are fighting.

EXPANSION OT LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

" The third step is in regard to the Legislative Councils. It is a sign of the good times that the Viceroy has pronounced that certain definite steps will be taken in the expansion of the Legislative Councils, and that for gathering first hand information, Mr. Montagu is visiting India. A suggestion has also been thrown out as to the advisability of various bodies and associations to place before him the lines upon which representation should be conceded for safeguarding their different interests. To avall themselves of this opportunity, the Congress and the Muslim League have already put forth before the public a certain scheme approved by the last Congress. Whatever may be the stamp of authority given to it by the Congress and various other public bodies, which are its branches, some doubts have been already entertained in certain important quarters as to the practical workableness of the Congress proposals, in consequence of which opinion in the country has become divided. On a serious matter like this, where the interests of the various communities are at stake, it is an impossible task to try to create a united front. Such an attempt under the present undeveloped conditions of the masses and persons of vested interests is not justifiable.

" With regard to this scheme, the most serious objection that was taken is that it has for its object the entire vesting of the power, all of a sudden, into the hands of the popular Self-Government. On the other hand, those, who honestly differ from it, think that some portions of it are unworkable,

or, in other words, the control of certain departments, such as education, sanitation. agriculture, industries and co operation, may be entrusted entirely to the discretion of the enlarged Legislative Councils, while reserving the power of the purse and the passing of the budget in the hands of the Executive, as now. Of the two proposals, it is not for me to say which is reasonable and workable, as it is for the public to discuss their merits. The testament of reforms left by the late Mr. Gokhale runs more or less on the same lines. Any clever reader may well find out by its perusal how careful and cautious the late patriot was in the scheme drafted by him for introducing it after the war. Of course, the modern day politicians have explained it away by declaring that it was the one fit for pre-war conditions, as if the present armageddon were training the people in the various forms of Self-Government. The Hon'ble Mr. Basu had also expressed that the proposals of the nineteen had been hastily drafted, and he is one of those who took a leading part in the draft. In other matters also there are some differences, which were noted down at the last Coimbatore Confernce. After all, what is the difference between this school of politicians and that represented by the Home Rulers? Among other matters, the fundamental difference lies in the rate at which the reforms are to be introduced. One section wants to proceed immediately for the realisation of full Self-Government, but the other apprehends great danger in so doing and insists upon cautious movement, halting at every step, and feeling the ground firm, not like a blind man, but like one of sagacity and wisdom. There is no denying the fact that moderates among the middle classes. and a great many men of vested interests to safeguard, are for slow and cautious advancement. The Hon'bles Messrs. Bupendranath Basu and Sir S. P. Sinha, Sir Gupta and the Aga Khan have made similar statements. Under the circumstances, it appears to me that it is advisable to hasten slowly, instead of taking a long jump, not knowing its consequences.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

"A certain section of non-Brahmins, at any rate, are of the latter opinion, for they are not only averse to catastrophic changes, but they apprehend the rule of a few, and, under such circumstances, it is feared that their interests are unsafe and that they will have to experience a good deal of tyranny. For these reasons and from their past and present experience, these non-Brahmins are demanding communal representa-

tion, according to their numerical strength and stake in the country. The demand, though reasonable and supported by facts, is still opposed, in certain quarters, by interested persons, who are leaving no stone unturned to get the proposal knocked on the head by some means or other. It is gratifying that the non-Brahmins have become sufficiently alive to these unwholesome measures and are urging with one voice the granting of communal representation, not only in the nnmber of seats in the Legislative Councils, but also in every kind of service. Whatever may be the obstacles thrown in the way, there is every chance of this demand being granted, as Lord Islington has already spoken in favour of representation based on communities and interests.

DOUBLE CHAMBER GOVERNMENT

"You are well aware that the system of Double Chamber Government is prevalent in almost all the self-governing countries of the world The United States of America, which is considered to be one of the best self-governed countries in the world, has got two Houses, namely, the Senate and the House of Representatives. On the advantages of this system in preventing sudden and violent constitutional changes, Dr. Woodrow Wilson says thus :—"The State Legislatures have two Houses, simply for purposes of deliberateness in legislation, in order that legislation may be filtered through the debates of two co-ordinate bodies, representing slightly different constituencies, though coming both directly from the people, and may thus escape the taint of precipitation too apt to be attached to the conclusions of a single all powerful popular chamber. The double organisation represents no principle, but only an effort at prudence." In England too, there are two Houses, of Lords and Commons, whatever may be their respective privileges and functions. This English fashion of legislative organisation has become the prevailing fashion among all liberalised Governments. Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, a veteran Congressman of Nagpore, puts forth a plea for this double chamber in the scheme, which he has submitted to the All-India Congress Committee. "It is submitted," says he, "that the bi-cameral system is preferable to the unicameral one. A second chamber is advocated as a safeguard, not only against hasty or imperfectly considered legislation or action, but against an indiscriminate resort to an abuse of the power of veto by the representative of the Crown". In this presidency the

Rajah of Kollengode has expressed his opinion in favour of such a system. But it has not attracted much public attention, though it is one worthy to be thought of in consideration of the various safeguards obtainable from it. Again, in certain State legislatures in the United States and other countries, a certain percentage of overwhelming majorities is insisted upon to prevent violent changes in the legislature. No such provision is found in the schemes already proposed. I venture to throw out these suggestions for what they are worth.

DEPRESSED CLASSES

"The problem of the depressed classess is the one that should interest us all, if we are real human beings endowed with any heart for sympathy and kind treatment. With reference to this matter, there is no denying the fact that all the higher classes are open to public reproach for not doing their legitimate duty to uplift these down-trodden classes for centuries together and for allowing this cancerous growth in the midst of Hindus, who claim superiority in religion and in the treatment of fellow beings. Whatever might have been the origin of these classes and whoever might have been responsible for their separation and degradation, it appears to me that the best explanation for this state of things could be found nowhere else than in the baneful caste distinctions introduced into the country under the teaching of Sastras and the preaching of the religious preceptors. In spite of the British Rule for more than 150 years, their condition has not been much bettered, though they must be thankful to them for having made some progress at least under its liberalising tendencies. It should be said to their credit that the foreign Christian missionaries have brought solace and comfort to many Panchamas, while the Hindu society has cast them off as uutouchables and virmins. Even now, the same condition prevails in some places in Malabar, wherein they are not allowed to pass through streets, thus proving the amount of contempt by which they are treated by the higher classes. The time has come for all of us to do our best for raising these helpless classes, who are no better treated in some places than slaves, to a higher state of existence, and thus show to the world that the Hindu nation has wiped out one long standing blot in society. In order to achieve this object, it is incumbent on us to lend a helping hand to the awakening that has come upon them lately, of which there are several indications already.

AN EDUCATION FUND

" As regards a general education fund to be started for helping the deserving poor students of the non-Brahmin communities and for raising the status of the artisan and the depressed classes, I have already contributed an article to 'Justice' of the 8th August, emphasising the necessity for its formation. I dare say that there can be no two opinions on this point, though opinions may differ as to its utilisation It is needless for me once again to press upon you the urgent need for it. It is really a matter for which there will be no justification, if the formation is still delayed, as the non-Brahmin communities have lots of rich men among them, who can afford to contribute freely, if only they care to do so. So far as individual communities and educational institutions are concerned, there are several non-Brahmin philanthrophists, who have shown their liberality, but, as regards this general .fund, they have not as yet loosened their purse strings It is on account of want of proper advertisement, I take it, that they have not come forward, rather than their lack of sympathy with this noble cause Without their help and co operation, no fund can be started and the progress of the deserving students will be retarded. It is for lack of proper support and encouragement and facilities for education that the non-Brahmin communities are lagging much behind in the race for education No sane man would believe the remark made in certain quarters that their intellect is inferior to that of the priestly class Given the same conditions and facilities for study, the non-Brahmin student will rise equally with a Brahmin, and no doubt can be felt on the point. For these reasons, I venture to urge on you the pressing need for a general education fund, and I hope my appeal will not fall on deaf ears

INDUSTRIES AND AGRICULTURE

" The question of developing industries and agriculture has been engaging the attention of the Government for the past so many years, still it has not been solved in any satisfactory manner, though their development on modern lines has long been recognised Many causes have been at work for this unhappy state of things, into which this is neither the time nor the occasion to enter. Times without number, the attention of the Government has been drawn to set on foot a definite policy of development, but on each occasion the demand has been explained away in some manner or other by appointing commissions, whose belated reports and the lengthy comments made by the

Governments concerned thereon have attracted only a passing attention—only to be forgotten within a short time. The net result has been an unnecessary waste of energy and funds and the non-developed condition of our industries and agriculture. During all these years our cottage industrics have perished and agriculture has remained in its crude condition.

" To this dark cloud, there has been a silver lining visible now at least for the past few years It is gratifying that Lord Chelmsford has grasped the situation fairly well and has appointed the Holland Commission to investigate and report on the industrial condition of the country and has got issued a comprehensive circular for improved agricultural operations to be conducted. All these are bright symptoms for a future rejuvenation of our industries and agriculture At the same time, we, non-Brahmin communities, have a duty to perform on our part, and that is, we should extend our hearty co-operation with the vigorous policy of the Government. With the Government aid, or even without it, in some cases, we must be prepared to start new industries, establish new factories and carry on costly agricultural experiments. Study the economic development of Japan and make an attempt to co-operate with the Government by your talents and money. Be sure that no country will prosper without industrial and agricultural development.

CONCLUSION

" Gentlemen :—I have now come to the concluding portion of my address. I congratulate you, with all my heart, on the grit and the moral courage, that you have displayed, by holding this Conference under deterrent forces. All of us should expect any amount of opposition, reasonable or unreasonable, engineered by interested persons, in the early life of every movement, like the sufferings of an infant. Still, it will survive the attack, if it has the stamina behind it, or, in other words, if it stands on sure foundations of reason and justice. I take it that ours is such a movement, whatever may be the criticism to which it has been subjected from its inception. While working for the movement with that amount of enthusiasm and steadiness which is necessary under the circumstances, we should be very careful in the methods we adopt, or, in other words, we should try to be as inoffensive as possible in our speech and writing, for violent language and virulent writing would create much unnecessary hostile feeling, which should be avoided as far as possible.

"You are well aware the conntry is filled with the Home Rule cry, whether it is justifiable or not. In this matter, views cannot but differ, as it is a movement in which every man and woman must feel interested, if capable of understanding what it is. But, unfortunately, the bulk of the population can have no idca of this topic, owing to their illiteracy, and even among those who are educated, many, I am afraid, might never have tried to understand and realise what is meant by Self-Government, how it can be obtained, what an amount of training it involves and through what intermediate stages the country should pass before it is said to be fit for a full measure of Self-Government. What is wanted is evolution, but not revolution To testify to this statement, what better proof is necessary than that provided by the slow and steady process of constitutional development in England? For sudden changes one has to go to China or Russia, the latter of which is now subjected to the worst form of rule by a few self-seeking politicians, whose days appear to be numbered. If, in India, a too violent constitutional change should unfortunately take place, it is feared that the country will be subjected to an intolerable rule of a few, however clever and educated they may be. It is, on account of this apprehension, some of us are of opinion that the post-war reforms should be introduced gradually Whether our fears are well grounded or not, it fs not for me to say. But it is not too much to expect that our opponents should give us the credit for our honest convictions, instead of pouring vials of vituperation on our heads. All of us are agreed on the principle of Self-Government for India, but we differ on the question of its immediate realisation. Whatever may be our differences on the policy of the Government and whatever may be the clamour set up by a certain section of the Home Rulers, the heart of India is sound, sound to the core, and she will not lag behind any other self-governing colonies in her loyalty to the Crown, for it is based on reason and common sense. No sane man would believe that the British Rule should come to an end at this stage, for every one is convinced of the catastrophe, that would undertake the people, if it so happens. This loyalty to the British is not only due to expediency, but it has also gratitude at its back, for no one could forget the peace and happiness, which the British Rule has brought to the people at large, in spite of its having many defects. With the same good intentions, which the English states-

men have always shown to India, they are now sending the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu, to whom we should extend our hearty welcome.

"Gentlemen, I have now finished, and I thank you again for having listened to my address with patience."

The members of the Subjects Committee were then selected, and the Conference adjourned at 5 p.m., to meet again the following day.

SECOND DAY

The Conference resumed its sitting at 1-30 p.m., on 28th October 17, with the Kumara Rajah of Challapalli, the President, in the chair. The delegates and visitors present numbered over 5,000.

Resolutions

The following resolutions were then passed :—

LOYALTY

I. This Conference of the non-Brahmins of the Godavari District begs to assure His Imperial Majesty, the King-Emperor, of its unswerving loyalty and deep devotion to the Throne and the Person of the King-Emperor and prays for a speedy and successful termination of the war.

GOLUGURI BAPIRAJU

II. This Conference places on record its deep sense of irreparable loss to the district from the untimely death of Goluguri Bapiraju Garu, who was a tower of strength to the Non-Brahmin Movement in these parts and to whose exertions and enthusiasm this Conferences owes much of its success.

N. B.—The above two resolutions were moved from the chair.

ARMY

III. This Conference, while thanking the Government for the graciousness with which they have thrown open commissioned ranks in the Army to the Indians, have formed the Indian Defence Force and have announced that Indians will be admitted into the Volunteer Corps, begs to urge upon the Government the importance of a free

and extensive recruitment of the fighting classes of the Northern Circars as largely as it used to be done before 1887.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

IV. This Conference tenders its heartfelt thanks to His Majesty's Government for the admission of India's representatives as members of the Imperial War Cabinet as well as of the Imperial Conference, on terms of equality with the representatives of the overseas dominions, and for the assurance given that, in all future conferences, India will receive the same treatment as the colonies.

EDUCATION

V. (A.) This Conference is of opinion that primary education is the first need of the country and that the efforts hitherto made to diffuse education among the masses have been very inadequate, and requests Government to give a very favourabie consideration and liberal support to any scheme that may be suggested for imparting free primary education to the people, it being made compulsory where ever possible. This Conference is further of opinion that the time has come for making primary education free and compulsory in all municipal areas, not less than two-thirds of the cost being met by Government.

(B.) This Conference is of opinion that the facilities available for Secondary and Higher education are not sufficient and requests the Government to take early steps to make it possible for all qualified students to get admission to schools and colleges.

(C.) This Conference is of opinion that sufficient encouragement is not being given to the non-Brahmins for education and begs to commend to the Government the adoption of a scheme for scholarships to poor non-Brahmin boys and girls.

(D.) This Conference urges the necessity for the formation of a District Educational Fund to be supported by all non-Brahmins in the District,

(E.) This Conference is of opinion that the establishment of well-supervised hostels, in all places where educational facilities are available, is one of the prime requisites of the present day and exhorts the non-Brahmin Zamindars and the leading men of the district liberally to support the movement started for providing hostels for non-Brahmin boys as well as for giving scholarships to deserving non-Brahmin students.

(F.) This Conference urges the necessity for opening an Agricultural College and agricultural vernacular schools for Telugu districts and suggests that a central place in this district be chosen for the location of the proposed Agricultural College.

(G.) This Conference is of opinion that the concession in school fees allowed to backward classes by educational rules be made obligatory in all schools, public or aided, and that the rules regarding the recognition of such schools be relaxed in favour of those intended for the children of ryots, labourers and depressed classes.

(H.) This Conference is of opinion that the existing girls' schools are not sufficient to meet the present requirements and urges on the Government the necessity for opening additional girls' schools in both rural and urban areas.

(I.) This Conference is of opinion that an Educational Board be formed in each district, to consist of the Collector, the Inspector of Schools, one elected non-official member from each Taluk Board and Municipality, and not more than four nominated non-officials, with due regard to the representation of all communities; and that this Board be the recognised agency for the distribution of grants to all educational institutions, for framing bye-laws for the conduct of schools and the school-going population, and for doing all that is necessary for the progress of education in the district.

N. B. The above resolution on Education was moved by Rao Bahadur K. Surianarayanamurthi Naidu and seconded by Mr. A. C. Parthasaradhi Naidu.

REFORMS

VI. (1) This Conference thanks the Right Honourable Mr. Montague, the Secretary of State for India, and the British Cabinet for the announcement made, that the policy of His Majesty's Government is that of an increasing association of Indians with every branch of administration and a steady development of self-governing institutions, with a view to progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire; and, as a first step in that direction, the following scheme of reforms is strongly recommended for the acceptance of the Government;—

Provincial Legislative Council

(2) This Conference is of opinion that the strength of the Madras Provincial Legislative Council should be so enlarged as to provide for the representation of all the communities and interests, regard being had to (a) the numbers of the several communities, (b) the aggregate of taxes paid by them and (c) the extent of property owned by them, and declares that, in view of the fact that power and influence are at present chiefly centred in a single communit and the other communities have only a slender chance of securing due representation in the Council, unless proper safeguards are provided, and in view also of the fact that in the near future the powers of councils are expected to be enhanced, any scheme of reforms, either of the councils of the country or of the public services, in which due and adequate representations is not provided for the large non-brahmin communities of the province on the "three bases" above mentioned, is bound to result in failure and consequent discontent and disharmony.

(A.) The strength of the Provincial Legislative Council may be fixed a 125 and the following distribution of seats may be made;—

1. Nomination ... 37
   (1) Government Officials 25
   (2) Non officials 12
      (a) for Panchamas and other depressed classes 5

(b) for experts and artisans, and setting right inequalities in representation through election 7

12

37

2. Election 70

(1) General electorates 15

(a) Electorates open to all communities

For every two or more 13

districts 12

Madras city 1

13

N. B. Members of Local Boards and Municipalities to be voters.

(b) Uriyas 2

N. B. Of these two, one to be an Uriya Zamindar

15

(2) Communal electorates 55

(a) Non-Brahmin Hindus, one for each district and one for Madras City 26

N. B. All non-Brahmin Hindus (Depressed classes included), who pay an assessment of 120 Rs. a year, or an income tax of 100 Rs. a year, or are graduates of 5 years' standing will be voters

(b) Mahomedans 15

(c) Indian Christians 5

For groups of districts 4

For Madras City 1

5

(d) Brahmins 7

For groups of districts 6

For Madras City 1

7

N. B. All those who claim to be Brahmins to be voters.

(e) Anglo—Indians 2

—

55

—

70

3. Special interests — 18

(a) Zamindars 5

(b) Indian merchants, including

1 Vysia

1 Nattukottai Chetti

1 Representative of the Indian Chamber of Commerce

1 Merchant of the North

1 Merchant of the South

—

5

(c) Europeans, including, 5

2 for the European Chamber of Commerce

2 for Trades Associations

1 for others 5

—

5

(d) European planters 1

(e) Madras University 2

—

18

Total 125

(B.) The Provincial Government to be given autonomy in all internal matters not specially reserved to the Imperial Government.

(C.) All heads of revenue, except Customs, Posts, Telegraph, Mint, Exchange, Salt, Opium, Railways, Guaranteed Railways and subsidized companies, Tributes from Native States, Army, Marine and Military works, to be provincialised; the Provincial Government to make an annual contribution to the Government of India, fixed for a period of five years at a time, though open to revisions as may be necessitated by extraordinary and unforeseen circumstances.

(D.) The Departments of Local Self-Government, Education, Sanitation, Agriculture, Co-operation and Industries to be placed under the control of

non-official members of the Legislative Council, the administrative control of these departments being vested in Indian hands, with a view to their being placed under the executive control of the non-official members in the near future: the fund necessary for expenditure in these departments to be assigned in the shape of separate heads of revenue or a fixed proportion of one or more heads of revenue, sufficiently elastic and progressive and also adequate to the growing needs of these departments.

(E.) The Provincial Government to be given powers of taxation and of borrowing, within certain limits, without a reference to the Imperial Government.

Provincial Executive Council

Half the number of Members of the Executive Council to be Indians, nominated with due regard to the interests of the several communities.

Imperial Legislative Council

This is to be so enlarged as to provide for a due representation in that council of all the communities and interests in the province of Madras. In the constitution of the Imperial Legislative Council it is desirable to provide for a majority, inclusive of nominated members official and non-official), instead of a purely official majority, as obtaining at present.

Imperial Executive Council

Half the number of Members to be Indians.

N. B. In this and other resolutions by "all the communities" is meant Brahmins, Non-Brahmin (depressed classes included), Indian Christians and Mahomedans.

(3) This Conference does not consider it at all desirable that the financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure should be embodied in bills and submitted to the vote of the Legislative Council, and this Conference also does not approve of appointments by elections from the Legislative Council.

(4) This Conference is of opinion that the time is not ripe for making resolutions, passed even in two separate sessions by a Legislative Council, binding on the Government, because there is no

the safeguard of a second chamber, as existin
in other countries, and because the councils wi
be elected for a definite period, without a pro-
vision for their dissolution during that peric
and a consequent appeal to the electorates.

N. B. The above resolutions on the Reforms were moved by Rai Bahadur K. V. Reddi Naidu and seconded by Pro: K. Ramamurthi.

Rai Bahadur K. Venkata Reddi Naidu, in the course of a stirring address moving the above resolutions, said:—In all civilised countries political power was in the hands of the tax-payer. In India, however, this was not the case. In this country, they saw the spectacle of the Brahmin usurping all real power, while the cultivators and the ryots, who toiled and moiled all day in the fields and contributed substantially to the coffers of the Government, had not even a semblance of power in their hands. Since 1892, during the past 25 years, there had not been a single non-Brahmin in the Madras Legislative Council. What was this due to? The fault lay with the non-Brahmins themselves. They had neglected in the past the opportunities afforded for education and this was indeed a most serious mistake. Hereafter, let every non-Brahmin wake up and see to it that he was not behindhand in education. Brahmin domination had been fostered by non-Brahmin ignorance, and if Brahmin domination was no longer to flourish in the land, it was absolutely necessary that non-Brahmins should educate themselves. He was not opposed to Home Rule, but did not want it immediately. India was unfit for immediate Home Rule, and that this was so had been admitted by the Indian National Congress. There were yet many stages that India had to pass through before Home Rule could prove beneficial to the country. Of course, there was a small section of peopte in the country, clamouring for immediate Home Rule, but what this section said was all moonshine. The people, who asked for immediate Home Rule, were blind to the state of affairs in the country. Let India have Home Rule by all means, but not at once and only in the fullness of time, when she was prepared for it.

As to the public services, non-Brahmins noted with satisfaction the recommendation of the majority of the Public Services Commission members to the effect that communal interests should be consulted in filling up appointments in both grades, provincial and imperial. At the same time, if this recommendation was to be given effect to, it was necessary that stringent rules should be framed. A rule to

the effect should be framed that when competent candidates from different communities were available for a particular post, the candidate from the community unrepresented or least represented in the public service should be given the post. Another rule was necessary to the effect that appointments should be so distributed that no one community held more appointments in any service than was warranted by the proportion of that community to the rest of the population. Competitive examinations for the public service should be also held separately for each community to level up the inequalities already existing in the public service. A certain percentage of Sub Magistrates and Deputy Collectors should be recruited from among non-Brahmins.

Mr. K. Lakshmipathi moved an amendment to the resolution that in the 13 mixed seats provided for general electorates, a certain number of seats should be allotted to the non-Brahmins, and Mr. M. Rangiah, B.A., B.L., seconded it. Professor K. Ramamurthi Naidu, Messrs. K. V. R. Swami, B. Venkataratnam (Village Munsiff) and P. Chakrapani Naidu supported the original proposition, which was in the end carried.

PUBLIC SERVICES

VII. This Conference, while noting with satisfaction the recommendation of the majority of the Public Services Commission that communal interests should be consulted in filling up appointments of all grades, begs to point out that, unless stringent rules are framed and they are strictly carried out, the desired object cannot be attained, and to suggest that the following among other rules may be adopted—

(a.) When competent candidates belonging to different communities are available for the same place, the place to be given to the candidate belonging to the community which has not had due representation in the services.

(b) Appointments to be so distributed that no one community shall hold a much larger number of appointments in any service than would correspond to the proportion which the population of that community bears to the total population of the province, except where fairly qualified candidates are not available in other communities.

(N. B.—In all services, a 'minimum' of qualification be prescribed, regard being had to the nature of the service and the ordinary duties required by it.)

(c) Character and other essentials to be given more prominence than mere examination tests in making appointments.

(d) To make up for existing inequalities, a certain percentage of Sub-Magistrates and of Deputy Collectors to be directly recruited from the communities which are not sufficiently represented in these cadres.

(e) The non-Brahmin communities not having had their legitimate share of appointments in the judicial service, the Honourable Judges of the High Court to be strongly urged to take very early action to remove this grievance.

(f) In place of an open competitive examination for direct recruitment to the services, as generally desired by certain bodies, this Conference considers it imperative, in the present state of the country, that the posts available be first assigned proportionately to the several communities, and the best candidate or candidates available in such communities be chosen by examination open to candidates from these communities.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

VIII. This Conference, while thanking the Government of Madras for having appointed non-official Presidents of four District Boards, including that of this District, as an experimental measure, considers it very desirable to let all Local Boards and Municipalities manage their own affairs without government interference, except in extreme cases, and to give every Municipality and Taluk Board power to elect respectively its Chairman and President.

(b) This Conference strongly recommends that an extension of Local Self-Government be made by the creation of a larger number of Village Panchayats than have been recently sanctioned, and that the panchayats' accounts be simplified, only simple resolutions of the panchayats being required for expenditure.

(c) This Conference is of opinion that Local Boards should be permitted to borrow more freely and without stringent restrictions both from the public and the Government.

N. B.—An amendment to the effect that the principle of mixed electorates be entirely eschewed in regard to Local

Boards was proposed and seconded, but it was thrown out by almost the whole house after full discussion.

AGRICULTURE

IX. a) This Conference requests the Government to open manure and seed depots at important agricultural centres in the district and supply manure and seeds at cost prices.

(b) This Conference further requests the Government to adopt a scheme for sending Inspectors of Agriculture to selected areas to take up leases of land and actually cultivate the plots so as to demonstrate to the ryots the advantages of improvements advocated by the Government.

(c) This Conference requests that the rules regarding deposits in connection with 'Lanka' sales be so revised as to provide for the transfer of deposits from one person to another and for the immediate return of the deposit monies in cases where the leases are not purchased by the depositors

d) This Conference is of opinion that the condition regarding the removal of stubble by the outgoing lessees of 'Lankas' works harship at present and that it should be modified or removed.

(e This Conference requests the Government to grant as jirayati land, with permanen, assessment, such of the Lankas' as are available for settlement.

N. B. The above resolutions on Agriculture were proposed by Mr. B. Venkataratnam and seconded by Mr. S. Subba Rao.

INDUSTRIES

X. This Conference strongly urges non-Brahmins to take to industrial enterprises more largely and requests Government to start technical and industrial schools in the Telugu country.

N. B. The above resolution was moved by Mr. Achanta Subbarayadu.

CO-OPERATION

XI. This Conference is of opinion that special efforts should be made to promote the spirit of co-operation in weaving centres, like Uppada and Jampeta, and that the Government should start co-operative weaving societies and freely finance them.

WATER SUPPLY AND HOUSE SITES

XII. This Conference is of opinion that greater efforts should be made by Government to meet the increasing want that is at present felt for drinking water supply and house sites, especially in rural parts, to answer the needs of the Panchamas and other so-called depressed classes.

N. B. The above resolution was moved by Rai Sahib M. Venkataratnam Naidu, and it was seconded by Mr. K. Marthanda Ramamurthi.

Rai Sahib M. Venkataratnam Naidu, in moving the resolution, said.—

The difficulties experienced by Panchamas in procuring drinking water are manifold. The arrogant higher caste people should be thoroughly ashamed of it. The communal conscience of the higher caste villagers did not seem to be worried about it, but, all the same, the state of affairs that now existed required to be at once improved. Local Boards had, however, not the requisite funds at their command to undertake a special supply of water to Panchamas, and it was, therefore, necessary for Government to move in the matter.

DISTRICT MUNSIFFS' COURTS

XIII. This Conference is of opinion that the District Munsiff's Court at Ramachandrapur should be made permanent and that the District Munsiff's Court of Razole, sitting at Amalapur, be located at Razole itself, so as to remove the great inconvenience to which the litigant public is being put at present.

N. B.—The above resolution was moved by Mr. K. Appa Rao Naidu.

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

XIV. This Conference urges upon the Government the necessity and the justice of bringing ryotwari lands of this presidency under a system of permanent settlement, thereby ensuring to the ryots the benefits of improvements and security of a permanent interest in the lands

N. B.—The above resolution was moved by Mr. D. Krishnamurthi.

IRRIGATION PIPES

XV. This Conference is of opinion that the 4 inches pipe in the irrigation system of the Godavari central and eastern delta has been causing great inconvenience and loss to the ryots and that no pipe ought to be less than 6 inches in calibre.

WET CULTIVATION

XVI. This Conference is of opinion that it is but fair and proper to grant invariably all applications to bring under wet cultivation fields, surrounded by wet lands already irrigated under the Godavari Deltas Scheme.

MALLADI SATTILINGAM CHARITIES

XVII. This Conference resolves to appoint a committee, consisting of the following gentlemen, with pewer to add, to consider and devise means to take the necessary action for making the Malladi Sattilingam Naicker Charity funds amply available to the industrial and artisan communities in the Circars.

1. Rao Bahadur R. Venkatarathnam Naidu, M. A. L. T., F. M. U.
2. The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur K. Suryanarayanamurthi Naidu.
3. Parimi Chakrapani Rau Naidu, B. A., Pleader.
4. W. Nagabhushnam, B. A.
5. D. Krishnamurthi, B A., B. L.
6. P. C. Venkatanarayana, Merchant.

DISTRICT NON-BRAHMIN ASSOCIATION

XVIII. This Conference urges upon all non-Brahmin Zamindars, Land-holders and Merchant and upon other well-to-do non-Brahmins in this district the importance and necessity of starting a central district non-Brahmin association for the political, social, educational and economic uplift of the non-Brahmins, and this Conference authorises the following gentlemen to act as a committee, with power to add, to take necessary action in the matter—

1. The Honourable Rao Bahadur K. Suryanarayanamurthi Naidu, 2. Rao Bahadur R. Venkatarathnam Naidu, M. A. L. T., F. M. U., 3 Rai Sahib M. Venkatarathnam Naidu, High Court Vakil, 4. Dr, Jayaramaswami Naidu, L. M. S., 5. K. V. R. Swami, Bar-at-law, 6. Padala Rami Reddi. Landholder, 7. B Venkatarathnam, Land holder, 8. S. Paddayya, Landholder, 9. Kokka Apparao Naidu, B.A. B. L., Secretary).

N. B.—The above resolution was moved by Mr. D. Krishnamurthi.

NON-BRAHMIN ORGANS.

XIX. This Conference strongly urges upon the various non-Brahmin communities to support "Justice" and "Andhra Prakasika", the two dailies at Madras working for the uplift of the non-Brahmin communities.

N. B. The above resolution was moved by Mr. K. Appa Rao Naidu.

DEPUTATION TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE VICEROY

XX. (A.) This Conference resolves that a deputation, consisting of the following gentlemen, with power to add, do wait on the Right Honourable Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, and His Excellency the Viceroy, during their visit to Madras, to represent the above proposals relating to the reform of councils and public services;—

1. Rao Bahadur R. Venkataratnam Naidu, M.A, L.T., F.M.U.

2. The Honourable Rao Bahadur K. Suryanarayanamurthi Naidu,

3. Rai Sahib M. Venkataratnam Naidu, B.A., B.L. High Court Vakil.

4. The Zamindar of Katravulapalli.

5. Sri K. Ramachandra Rao, Rajahmundry.

6. Dr. Joshi, Ramachandrapuram.

7. Mr. K. V. R. Swami, Bar-at-Law, Rajahmundry.

8. Mr. K. Apparao Naidu. B.A., B.L., Ramachandrapuram (Secretary).

(B.) This Conference further resolves that this deputation be authorised to co-operate and combine, if necessary, with other deputations having similar objects and views, and if they are thus to combine with other deputations, the members of this deputation do elect or choose from among themselves one or more members, according to requirements, to join with others in waiting upon the Right Honourable the Secretary of State and H. E. the Viceroy.

N. B. The above resolution was moved by Mr. M. Rangiah Naidu.

Before the close of the proceedings, Rao Bahadur K. Venkata Reddi Naidu made a felicitous speech, thanking the Chairman and the members of the Reception Committee for the very successful Conference they had organised. He said:—

He had attended numerous political gatherings in India and he would assure all present that in the enthusiasm that prevailed throughout and the large numbers of the delegates and the visitors that had attended, no political gathering of the past, excepting perhaps the Calcutta Congress of 1912, could beat the present session of the Godavari Non-Brahmin Conference, which had just come to a close. (Cheers.) Verily a new spirit had come over non-Brahmins and henceforth non-Brahmins were sure to be a power in the land. We are all thankful to Mr. K. Appa Rao of Ramachandrapuram for his exceptionally valuable services as the Organising Secretary of the Conference.

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Suryanarayanamurthy proposed a vote of thanks to the President and the Volunteers, who had worked most assiduously in attending to the comforts of the numerous delegates and visitors, and the proceedings of the Conference eame to a close with cheers for His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor.

The Pulivendla Conference

3rd and 4th November 1917.

This Conference, which was the first to be held in the Ceded Districts under the auspices of the Non-Brahmin Movement, assembled on 3rd November, 1927, in a specially constructed pandal, which had been decorated with numerous loyal emblems.

Pulivendla is a small town in the interior of the Cuddappah district, about 25 miles from the railway line. It is inhabited mainly by non-Brahmin agriculturists and ryots, and these, headed by Mr. P. Doraswami Naidu, a private pleader, got up the Conference Mr. K. Subba Reddi, Barrister-at-Law, practising at Cuddappah, presided, and the attendance of the delegates was large. A number of visitors from Madras were also present, and these, on arrival at the Muddanur railway station, were accorded an enthusiastic reception, and there was an Indian band in attendance. The Madras visitors included Mr. A. C. Parthasarathi Naidu. Mr. T. Singara Mudaliar, Mr. T. Sabhapathi Mudaliar (Rtd. Sub Engineer), Mr. C. Natesan, Mr. W. Ramalinga Mudaliar Rtd. Tahsildar), Mr. C. Abboy Naidu, Mr. P. H. Rama Reddi B. Sc., Mr. T. Arumuga Mudaliar and Mr. W. S. Jagannatha Babu Naidu

Before the proceedings of the Conference commenced, the President and the visitors, accompanied by a large body of delegates, were taken in procession through the principal streets of the town, and the procession everywhere met with a flattering reception

The Conference opened at 3 p. m., the proceedings beginning with a prayer offered by Mr. A. C. Parthasarathi Naidu. Telegrams and letters sympathising with the objects of the Conference were read from the following, among others:—The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur A. Subbarayalu Reddiar, The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur K, Suryanarayanamurthy Naidu, Mr. P. Ramarayaningar, Khan Bahadur Mohammed Habibullah Sahib, Mr. K. Koti Reddi, Barrister-at-Law, Rai Sahib M. Venkataratnam Naidu, The Kumara Rajah of Challapalli and Mr. T. Ethirajulu Mudaliar. Messages were also received at a later stage from Dr. T. M. Nair and Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetty.

Mr. P. Doraswami Naidu, Chairman of the Reception Committee, next delivered an address welcoming the delegates.

The following are extracts from the Address;—

Welcome Address.

The Non-Brahmin Movement has not come out suddenly as some gentlemen on the other side think. The non-Brahmin sentiment has been in existence for a very long time. A perusal of the lectures of the great religious preacher, Swami Vivekananda, on "Castes" and "Social Reforms," will confirm the truth of the above statement. The movement was started by that great Swami and our great leaders, Dr Nair and Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti, watered and nourished it. The two leaders observed the world patiently and intelligently, tested their observations by careful enquiry and are now bringing out true and accurate facts, with the object of securing to the non-Brahmins a place on terms of equal partnership with the people who are in advance of them. The two gentlemen even gave evidence some years back before the Public Service Commission in favour of the non Brahmin community. We, non-Brahmins, have been awakened from our lethargy and are made to view things with wide open eyes by exercising our power of discretion and sound judgment for the purposes of true democratic upheaval. For all these, the great non-Brahmin communities are really under a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. Nair and Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti, the stalwart champions of that upheaval.

You see now, gentlemen, the large gathering in this Conference. All the leading men of all non-Brahmin communities in this taluq—Hindus, Mohammadans and Christians—have joined us, and this is a clear indication that the whole non-Brahmin population of the taluq is in complete accord with our aims and aspirations. We will be ungrateful if we do not readily and fully recognise the benefits of the British rule. There can be no doubt that it is the British Government that has made us what we are to-day. Certainly, the time is ripe for a liberal grant of political reform in the Indian constitution, which will not unduly interfere with the power of the British Government. The British Government has also very recently granted us certain privileges.

The masses are uneducated and are divided in hidebound division of castes. Their interests and their stages of civilisation are different. The cause of the backward community will undoubtedly suffer a good deal, if, at this stage, changes in the administration, which will weaken the authority and the influence of the British rulers, are introduced. That which the country sadly needs to-day is education in primary, secondary and higher stages.

Mr. K. Subba Reddi was then installed in the chair and was accorded an enthusiastic reception. He then delivered his presidential address. This was well received and many passages were repeatedly cheered. The following are extracts from the Address;—

Presidential Address

We have already reached a state when Self-Government within the British Empire is no longer the shibboleth of one political party but has become the olitical postulate of all parties in India, not excluding the Anglo-Indian. The only question is how long are we to wait for it and what is the irreducible minimum of political reform which we should get for India at the termination of the war, not indeed as for the help we are rendering the Empire in the war, for that is our duty, but as an acknowledgement of our birthright as a nation to rule ourselves.

REFORMS

The Memorandum of the Nineteen is defective in the very central part of it, namely, the constitution and the mutual relation of the Executive and the Legislative Councils

The subject is one bristling with innumerable difficulties and it is not at all surprising that no other alternative scheme has yet been seriously suggested except the one by Dr Nair outlined in his series of leaders on "Political Reconstruction of India." At the risk of being censured for improper boldness on the part of one so young and inexperienced, I shall briefly sketch a scheme mainly on the lines proposed by Dr. Nair himself.

I shall leave untouched the non-controversial parts of the Nineteen Memorandum and confine myself to the constitution and the mutual relation of the Executive and the Legislative Councils. It will also simplify matters to deal with the case of our presidency alone. It is a matter of common acceptance that the Provincial Governments should be allowed more or less free hand in their respective provinces. In the division of powers between the Imperial and the Provincial Governments we will do well to follow the example of the United States of America, and confer certain definite powers on the former, leaving the rest of the powers of a State to the latter. We are all agreed also that the Legislative Assembly must be more representative of the people than at present it is, and that the elected members thereof should be returned by the people directly on as broad a franchise as

possible. The strength of our Provincial Legislative Assembly may be fixed at 120, of whom 85 are to be elected members and 35 nominated members, consisting of 20 officials and 15 non-officials. 85 elected members shall choose from among their own number three members of the Executive Council, two of whom may be entrusted with the portfolios of education and local self-government, the third being responsible for the finance of the elective Government. Certain heads of revenue shall be set apart for the business of this Government. The House of Representatives, which name we shall give to the elective portion of the Legislative Assembly, shall choose its own speaker to preside over its meeting, as also a deputy speaker to act in his absence. The relation between the Governor and the elective Government shall be the same as that between the Governor and the legislature of a self-governing colony. The rest of the Government, including legislation, shall be carried on by the Governor and the three members of the Executive Council appointed by the Crown, provided that the initiation and control of legislation pertaining to the departments relegated to the elective Government shall be in the hands of the elected members of the Executive Council, whom the appointed members shall be bound to support in this business.

The Governor and Executive Council shall be assisted by a Legislative Council consisting of the 35 nominated members and also 25 members chosen from the House of Representatives. The Governor shall be ex-efficio President, and the six members of the Executive Council as well as the Speaker of the House of Representatives ex-officio members of the Legislative Council. The position of the Executive Council towards the Legislative Council shall be substantially the same as at present it is.

This is but the dry bones of the Scheme I propose. It will have to be filled up with life after further consideration. I am by no means unaware that the proposed bifurcation of the Legislative Assembly sounds somewhat queer, but then we must not forget that the country for which it is proposed is "sui-generis," without a parallel either now or in the past Moreover, we are in search of a constitution which serves as a step to complete self government. At the same time we are shy to demand it at once? The proposed constitution has at least this merit, that it will serve as a training ground for national politicians, while it avoids cataclysmal changes in the existing system of Government It gives us much more than a modicum of

real self-government, and, what is better still, it affords us opportunity to demonstrate our fitness for colonial self-government which undoubtedly is our goal.

NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT

While the ardent Home Ruler is satisfied with nothing short of the Congress-Muslim League demand, the thoughtful non-Brahmin naturally asks if the grant of any amount of substantial self government does not spell more harm than good to the non-Brahmin community. The question is a very proper one considering the superior pretentions of the Brahmin oligarchy. The preposterous assertion made by the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri in the Imperial Legislative Council, that the non-Brahmin will prefer the Brahmin oligarchy to the British oligarchy, serves us as an eye-opener and gives a glimpse of the unknown regions of the South Indian Brahminic mind. A Brahmin oligarchy, like its kith and kin abroad, has ever been subversive of the general interest of our country, and will never again be suffered to raise its devoted head so long as the rest of the nation is in possession of its right senses.

While the British oligarchy touched us here and there, and that only superficially, the Brahmln oligarchy pursues us at every turn and makes itself felt in the innermost recesses of our life. While the power of the secular oligarchy is finite and can be understood, that of the spiritual oligarchy is infinite and inscrutable. No, we do not perfer the Baahmin oligarchy to the British. However much we may prefer the individual Brahmin as our countryman to the individual Britisher as a stranger, the Brahmins as an oligarchy we feel no hesitation in disowning. One need not go far to find the reasons for this aversion. The Brahmins' claim of superiority by birth, their ill-concealed sectarian bias, above all, their individious good fortune have justly created an indelible sense of suspicion and distrust in men of other communities. Their powers of combination, their policy of mutual advancement and their inordinate selfishness in the past have made them dangerously formidable against the legitimate efforts at improvement made by the other communities. By an inscrutable method of working they have hitherto succeeded in carving out for themselves the lion's share of all posts and privileges, though they constitute less than three percent of the entire population of this presidency.

To crown all, the Varnashrama Dharma Movement, apparently started and engineered by a few Brahmin enthusiasts with the admitted object of furbishing the rusted weapons of Brahmin hierarchy, has created much bad blood between the Brahmins and non Brahmins in general. Under these circumstances, it is but natural that the far-seeing and able among the leaders of the non-Brahmin communities should have decided upon starting a movement for the protection of the special interests of these communities. To Dr. Nair and Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti our thanks are primarily due for having started the first non-Brahmin movement and popularising it by means of three dailies printed in different languages. The movement should, however, be only a weapon of defence but not of offence, it must be communal but not anti-national, it should safeguard and advance the particular interests of a community but not endanger the general interests of the country. It is the supposed fear of this ideal having been lost sight of by the organisers of the first movement that gave rise to the second non-Brahmin movement started by that redoubtable champion of people's rights, Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, and his co-adjutors While regretting this untoward division in the non-Brahmin camp, we sincerely hope that the two organisations will work on more and more converging lines till in the fulness of time they fuse into one. Meanwhile our duty as true non-Brahmins is to help in the carrying out of the common objects of the movements. Above all, let us non-Brahmins always bear in mind that we should not lag behind our Brahmin brethren in the demand for pactical political reforms, else we would prove false to our truly democratic instinct. At the same time, let us not indulge in visionary dreams had fritter away our energies in the proverbial wildgoose chase

There is an imperative necessity for proper communal representation and I am outlining a scheme by which I think it might be brought about.

The Subjects Committee was then formed and the Conference then rose for the day.

SECOND DAY

The Conference re-assembled on the afternoon of 4th November, 1917. Mr. K. Subba Reddi, Barrister-at-Law, presided.

Resolutions

The following resolutions were passed.

I. This Conference assures His Imperial Majesty of the unflinching loyalty and devotion of all classes of non Brahmins and prays for the immediate success of the British and their allies in the War.

II. This Conference expresses its great regret at the death of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

III. (a) This Conference thanks the Prime Minister and members of the British Cabinet for admitting Indian Representatives on terms of equality both into the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial Conference.

(b) This Conference thanks the Government for the opportunity given to Indians for displaying their enthusiasm in the present war and assures the Government that India would continue enthusi. astically to support the glorious British causes.

IV. (a) This Conference is of opinion that a liberal instalment of political reforms in the constitution of the Government is necessary, so as to make the Government as far as possible representative of the people of India.

(b) This Conference supports the Congress-Muslim League proposals, with the necessary modifications concerning the principle of communal representation and the constitution and the mutual relation of the Executive and the Legislative Councils, as suggested in the Presidential Address.

(c) This Conference is of opinion that the departments of Industry and Commerce, Education and Local Self-Government, should be entirely left in the hands of the elective Governments as sketched in Mr. Subba Reddi's Presidential Address.

(d) This Conference is of opinion that the number of the Provincial Legislative Council might be fixed at 120, of which 35 will be nominated (20 officials and 15 non-officials) and 85 will be elected; the distribution of elective seats to be as follows:—

Brahmins	5
Vysias	4
Kshatriyas	2
Fourth Caste	33
Depressed Classes	4
Mahomedans	10

Indian Christians	...	... 4
Anglo-Indians	...	... 4
Zemindars	...	... 3
Madras Corporation...		... 1
Madras Ratepayers	...	... 2
Municipal Councils	...	... 9
University	...	... 1
Graduates	...	... 1
Reserve	...	... 2
		85

(e) This Conference is of opinion that three of the members of the Executive Council should be elected by the elected members of the Legislative Assemby and three be appointed by the Crown,

(f) This Conference is of opinion that separate heads of revenue should be set apart to meet the requirements of the elective Government.

(g) This Conference is of opinion that, in the appointment to the public services, the three principles of communal representation, selection and competition should be taken into consideration, remembering that the different communities of India occupy positions of varying inequality.

N. B. The above resolutions on Reforms were moved from the chair.

EDUCATION

V. This Conference resolves that in its opinion the Government should promote primary and secondary education in Pulivendla taluq, by establishing a secondary school at some suitable centre.

It was announced at this stage that a certain well to-do Reddi ryot had recently died in the Taluq, bequeathing Rs. 10,000 for charitable purposes, and this sum by the adoption of suitable means might be made available for giving effect to the above resolution.

This announcement was made, at the instance of one of the officials present, by Mr. A. C. Parthasarathi Naidu.

The President's Concluding Speech

The President, in the course of his concluding remarks, said;—

What they understood by the Non-Brahmin Movement was that it was a movement for the uplift of the non-Brahmins. The movement has got a social and political

side, but most emphatically it did not aim at bringing the Brahmins down to a lower level. The non-Brahmins did not grudge the position which the Brahmins had secured in the country by their habits of close application and unremitting industry. The non-Brahmins, in fact, admired the Brahmins in these respects. What the non-Brahmins, however, wanted was that they should occupy a position in the country analagous to that of the Brahmins. (Applause. It might be that it would take the non-Brahmins a long time to achieve this, but achieve it they must and they would (Applause). The superior position occupied by Brahmins is chieflly due to education. This fact the non-Brahmins should carefully note and by every means possible they should promote education in their midst. The "esprit de corps" of the Brahmin should also be cultivated by the Non-Brahmins and a spirit of self sacrifice should characterise their actions. It may be readily granted that the Brahmins fully deserved the position they held in the country, but if they felt jealous of the non-Brahmins, if they envied the non-Brahmins, then Brahmin supremacy should be assailed. The Brahmins had absolutely nothing to fear from the non-Brahmin Movement and any attempt to thwant it would spell disaster to the Brahmins. No one is opposed to Home Rule. In fact, Home Rule is wanted by all, but it should be given when India wss prepared for it. At present India was most emphatically unfit for Home Rule. One of the means of preparing India for Home Rule was to introduce communal representation in the reforms that were now impending. This would, in course of time, lead to an adjustment of the many disparities existing among the various communities that inhabit India, and pave the way for Home Rule in the long run.

With votes of thanks to the President, etc., and cheers for the King-Emperor, the proceedings terminated.

Telugu Leaders' Conference, Bezwada

(11th & 12th November, 1917)

Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti, who arrived from Madras early this morning, was accorded a reception on the railway platform He was garlanded by Rai Bahadur K. Venkata Reddi, Chairman of the Reception Committee. and conducted to the residence of Mr D V. Hanumantha Rao, Chairman of the Bezwada Municipality, his house having been generously placed at the disposal of the organisers of the Conference After chota hazri Mr. Theagaraya Chetti, seated in an open carriage, was taken in procession through some of the streets of Bezwada, with a band in attendance. The Conference opened at 8 a. m., the opening being marked by scenes of great enthusiasm

The Non-Brahmin Leader's Conference of the six Telugu Coast Districts opened on 11th November, 1917, amidst scenes of great enthusiasm in the Hindu Theatre It had been organized principally for the benefit of the Telugu Districts. The delegates present were mostly from the districts of Godavari, Kistna, Ganjam, Guntur and Nellore. The delegates from Godavari and Kistna numbered over 500, while those from other districts were also fairly numerous. Alone from the Northern Circars, Vizagapatam was unrepresented at the Conference. Rai Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti presided, and, among those supporting him on the platform, were both delegates and distinguished visitors, including the Kumara Rajah of Challapalli, Mr. P. V. Doraiswami Mudaliar, Mr. P. Ramarayaningar, Rao Bahadur R. Venkataratnam Naidu, Mr. A. P. Patro, Mr. Achanta Subbarayudu, Rao Bahadur M. Paparao Naidu, Mr. K. Subba Reddi of Cuddappah, Rai Sahib M. Venkataratnam Naidu, Mr. V. Thirumala Pillai, Mr. T. Ethiraja Mudaliar, Mr. C. Natesan, Mr. T. A Ramalingam Chetti, Mr. A. C Parthasarathi Naidu, Mr. K Lakshmiah Naidu, Mr. P. C. Ethirajulu Naidu, Mr S. Narayanaswami Naidu of Guntur, Mr P Govinda Rao Naidu, Mr T Singara Mudaliar, Rao Bahadur K Venkata Reddi and Mr. K Audinarayana Reddi.

There were prayers first and then Rai Bahadur K Venkata Reddi, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his address, of which the following are extracts.

Welcome Address

"Gentlemen, in the life of nations and communities an hour may come, as in the life of individuals, when prudent action will lift them up and lethargy and sloth may cause their wreck. We are just now passing through such an hour. Even as we are up and doing so shall we be benefited Inaction at the present moment may mean degradation. If you keep quiet now, you will be doing a wrong to yourselves and you will also be responsible to posterity. Eight or nine years ago a similar opportunity afforded itself. Our communities did not avail themselves of it and you know the consequences that followed. Our Mohammadan brothers took the opportunity by the forelock and to-day you find them in the high position they are occupying in the estimation of our rulers and of our countrymen. You will all admit that India is just now passing through a crisis. Reforms for this country are being forged and they will soon be on the anvil, and if you do not take your part in striking and shaping them, you will be so much worse off: it needs no prophet to see that Even as you would formulate these reforms so do you shape your destinies. There are several schemes before the country. The Congress-League scheme, the Memorandum of the 19 members, the Coimbatore Scheme, Lord Islington's speech, Gokhale testament, Mr. Montagu's announcement, the Viceroy's speech announcing the same, and Doctor Nair's articles in 'Justice' on constitutional reforms, besides various contributions by newspaper correspondence are all before you. Lastly, there is the Biccavole scheme, whose importance can be gauged by the large number that attended the Conference.

"The object of the Conference is, as has been announced, to focus non-Brahmin opinion on these schemes, to formulate a scheme of its own and to form a deputation to wait upon the Right Hon'ble E. H. Montagu during his proposed visit to Madras. After formally installing the president-elect in the chair and receiving his address, you will proceed to do this duty. This principle of communal representation may now be said to have been accepted by all. Considering the peculiar condition of the province, where caste system is still in its full vigour, any other basis of representation is impossible. When at Lucknow the Congress allowed last year separate representation to the Musalmans and insisted on the condition, "that no Mohamadan shall participate in any of the elections save and except these electorates repre-

senting special interests", that great body accepted irretrievably the principle of communal representation and separate electorates. The late Mr. Gokhale would in his "Statement" give separate representation to communities like the Lingayats. Lord Islington in his Oxford speech indicated that communal franchise would have to be widened. The local press, with perhaps a single exception, has given expression to its acceptance of the principle. The Andhra Conference that met at this place about a month ago passed an elaborate resolution in which the principle was accepted in all its details. Mrs. Besant herself would not object to any system of communal representation, though she saw many difficulties in the way of framing a practical scheme and wanted to get over these difficulties (under cover of Loyalty to the Congress, which alone, according to her, can accept or reject any such system) by postponing their consideration till the next meeting of the Congress.

" Let us now come to the public services of this province. The Indian Executive Councillor's place in the Madras Government was created 8 years ago. It has been held by Brahmins during the last seven years and in the ordinary course will be so held for another four years. Till recently all the four Hindu Judges were Brahmins. When one of them resigned a few months ago a non-Brahmin was appointed in his place, so that even now there are three Brahmin judges and only one Non-Brahmin acting judge. In 1914 a new Secretaryship to Government was created and a Brahmin official was at once appointed to it. When he was raised to the Executive Council, another Brahmin official immediately stepped into his place. The Indian Secretary to the Board of Revenue is a Brahmin. While one of the two Indian collectorships available to the members of the provincial civil service has always been filled by a Mussalman, the other had almost always been held by a Brahmin. At present an Indian Christian gentleman of exceptional parts is holding this last mentioned place. Out of the 170 Indian Civil Service officers in this province 11 are Indians. Out of these, 4 are natives of other provinces; 4 are Brahmins of this province, two are Christians and one only is a non-Brahmin.

" Motives are attributed to us and we are charged with hatred towards the Brahmins. This charge is as false as it is frivolous. Did the Mohammadans hate the Hindus when they demanded separate representation? Do the Indians hate the British when they say that the council to come into

existence should have a vast majority of Indians? Do non-officials hate the officials when the former want to reduce the number of the latter from half to one fifth? If not, why should we be charged with any hatred? It does not seem to occur to our opponents that these charges cannot deter us from our purpose By these obstructive tactics they give room for an impression in our minds that they want to monopolise both the public services and the councils of the country. We have no hatred towards any body. We only wish to safeguard our interests. We are trying to uplift ourselves, not to injure others. We attack the system, the existing system of franchise and the legislative institutions. We have no complaints against any individual or community. Our complaint, if at all, is against the Government, for not having had the prescience to foresee the consequences that might naturally follow the system they introduced in 1892 and 1909. These consequences no doubt did not prove to be very serious. But when the proposal is to enlarge the Legislative Councils enormously and when large powers of administrative control and taxation are sought to be given to these councils, it is only natural that those who would be affected by these powers should apprehend danger and insist upon safeguards being provided against possible abuse of these powers When the Anglo-Indians are in power, there is the safety of impartiality of administrators, who have no vested interests or local connections, which naturally sway mens' predilictions. When, on the other hand, one community, whose interests clash with those of the others, should rise into great power, that community is naturally apt to look to the advancement of its own members to the detriment of other communities, and these latter, in their turn, would also naturally view with apprehension any such concentration of power in a single community. Have we not studied the history of Hungary? Do we not know the part that is being played by the Magyars in that country? Is not the concentration of power in their hands working the ruin of that country? Are we to allow a repetition of the same in our country If not, why impute motives to us, when we are only trying to secure a balance of power and influence? It is not our desire to probe into old wounds. No good purpose can be served thereby. But when a desire to safeguard one's own interests is sought to be thwarted under one pretext or other, one is instinctively reminded of the past and of the history repeating itself. It may be difficult to frame a scheme on a communal basis. But it is a difficulty from which we cannot fly. We have to face it."

Mr. K. Audinarayana Reddi, a wealthy land-holder of the Nellore District, then formerly proposed Mr Theagaraya Chetti to the presidential chair Among those seconding the proposition was Mr. A. P Patro, High Court Vakil and the Chairman of the Berhampore Municipality.

Mr A P. Patro said they might not all agree with Mr Theagaraya Chetti in all that he wrote and said but they could not help recognising how great his work was in trying to promote the advancement of the non-Brahmins. In fact every non-Brahmin in this province was under a profound debt of gratitude to Mr. Theagaraya Chetti and his earnest wish was that he should be long spared to continue his work. Certainly Mr. Theagaraya Chetti's work in the public cause was second to that of none in this country.

Mr. Theagaraya Chetti, having then taken his seat in the presidential chair amidst loud applause, delivered his Presidential Address.

Presidential Address

" Gentlemen,—Allow me to thank you most heartily for the honour you, delegates of the six coast Telugu districts of this Presidency, have done me in choosing me for presiding over your deliberations for improving the condition of the people of these districts, who are almost entirely Telugus. A Telugu myself, I feel proud of having to preside over this Conference of Telugus, and I feel thankful to Providence for having given me this opportunity of meeting you all once, though very late, in my life and joining you in deliberations of immense importance at a time when the whole of India is in a ferment.

HOME RULE.

" India is now, as I have said, in a state of ferment caused by proposals of Home Rule, and it is our duty to carefully examine what Home Rule is, how it will affect the populace and what steps should be taken to advance the position of the country and its future development. We need not go to mythological ages to consider how this vast continent was governed. Suffice it to say that India permitted itself to be conquered by Alexander the Great owing to internal dissensions caused by Aswamedha Yagam (Horse Sacrifice) performed at the time by King Porus. The successive invasions by the hordes of Ghengis Khan, etc , can be traced to the same kind of internal dissensions in the country. The establishment of Muhammadan rule in the

country and the advent of the British can, without any doubt, be traced to similar causes. Thanks to the British Government, the whole country is now enjoying the benefits of a stable Government. Her progress in agriculture with the grand Godavari, Krishna and the Punjab canals enormously increasing the wet cultivation of the country, the introduction of Egyptian and Cambodia cotton, the vast increase in sugar-cane, jute, etc., are enough indications of the steady progress of the country, and signs are not wanting of further progress in these directions. Our trade has increased ten-fold during the last 30 years and it cannot be denied that the lot of the ryot is much better. It is certainly not in any way worse than what it was before this period. We are moving in the direction of improved industries, of which there are several indications in these districts at present. We find a number of cotton gins and rice mills and one or two jute mills

"These are promising signs of future development. We are enjoying perfect peace and security in the country in the midst of the World War. These are great benefits for which we should one and all be thankful to the British Government. Long live the British Government! Let us all pray with one voice for the success of the British arms in this Great World War and the permanence of the British supremacy over this vast continent. Gentlemen, what is it then that is agitating our minds at present? Progress! Progress must be our watchword. Progress in education, progress in agriculture, progress in industries and arts, progress in commerce and trade, progress in social life and progress in political condition. We cannot stand still while the whole world is advancing, lest we be completely swept out of existence. But the advancement must be slow and steady We began to progress with the Indian National Congress,—thanks for the sympathetic administration of Lord Ripon, who introduced Local Self-Government. This system of Local Self-Government has made steady progress, though, owing to several causes, the progress has been rather slow. Lately, the Minto-Morley reforms gave a spurt to political progress through the Legislative Councils. Thus, while fair progress was being maintained, a ferment began with the declaration of war in Europe. The advanced politicians in the country all on a sudden started a Home Rule propaganda asking for perfect control over the Government The leading spirit of this movement, who had previously declared that the Indians were unfit for Self-

Government so long as there were innumerable castes and creeds and until they were fused into one body, suddenly declared, immediately after the declaration of the war, that they were completely fit for Home Rule. How all on a sudden the Indians developed this aptitude for Home Rule immediately after the declaration of the war, is a mystery to me as it is a mystery to all right-thinking men. The fact of the matter is that there is a forward class, which is more largely educated, more largely employed in all branches of the administration of the country, than others. The legal profession is almost entirely in its hands. Is it to be supposed that with these advantages now enjoyed by them they would not aim at supreme power and try to pluck it out of the hands of the British Government just at the time when that Government is fully occupied in the world devastating war? Is it not their idea that this is the psychological moment to forcibly extract all the concessions they want for securing an amount of power which they cannot dream of obtaining in ordinary times? Is it not taking undue advantage of the difficult position of the Government?

"One plea is put forward for the demand of Home Rule. It is said that the Indian Army is fighting and that Indian blood is being shed for the British Empire. India has come out with a large contribution of money. "India is loyal in these dangerous days. We therefore deserve Home Rule and you must give it to us." But who are they that ask for it? It is not the people that contribute men to the army and it is not the people that gave money contributions. They are in the dignified position of not begging favours in return for what they never have done. It is only the loud-mouthed few that neither helped with men nor with money, and it is plain that these few want to reap the benefit out of the work of others. This attitude of theirs is nothing new in the history of India. It is as old as the Aryan civilization itself, which made all labouring classes servants, the servants of the Aryans, calling them Sudras. We will now see how this much-speaking class has assumed the position it now occupies. In the middle of the 19th century the East India Company found that they wanted English educated men for their service and the famous Macaulay's educational scheme was launched. This class, which had for centuries together lived upon the sweat of others' brows, which had spent time upon study and meditation, having no other work to do, found English education

congenial, took advantage of the situation and plunged into it, while all other classes, having their own avocations to look to, and finding it degrading to serve, kept aloof without profiting themselves, so much so that this class by means of its education obtained ascendancy in all offices, courts and schools, with all the concomitant power, whereas the non-Brahmin classes lost all opportunities for getting position and power. They were not able to see their mistake until their eyes were opened to the deplorable position of being left behind. It does not require to be pointed out that most of the members of Taluq and District Boards and Municipalities at present belong to the articulate class referred to. The elected non-official members of the Legislative Council are almost all of that class. 75 per cent at least of the Government officials belong to the same class. Almost the whole of the judiciary and the bar are recruited from that class. In fact, the whole administration is centred in the self-same class. What will be the position of the non-Brahmin classes if Home Rule is granted under these conditions? The whole administration will be in the hands of this exclusive class and we can very well imagine what the result will be with the experience we have had of them in the past. We have no quarrel with them, we have no intention of injuring them. It is our aim to educate ourselves so that we may rise in official life and in all public bodies. It is our contention that we should get our legitimate share in the Government of the country, proportionate to our imporantance and wealth. It was with this object the South Indian Peoples' Association was formed, and three dailies, "Justice," "Andraprakasika" and "Dravidan," have been started, and it is for you to judge what work they have done within the short period of their existence. It is our wish that you will join hands with the Association and contribute your mite to the success and permanence of these newspapers.

"Gentlemen,—It will be remembered that the Indian National Congress worked for more than 30 years in the direction of the political advancement of the country, and great men held the helm and steered the way in the right direction. The Muslim community kept aloof all along, until the last year, when Mrs. Besant brought about an "entente cordiale," so that she might put forward her Home Rule scheme with the apparent consent of all the people of India. How the union of hearts was brought about, we need not scrutinise. But it is a fact that the Congress was captured by Mrs. Besant and her Home Rule followers, and

the moderates were swept clean out of existence so far as the Congress was concerned. The Congress and the Muslim League accepted the Memorandum of the Nineteen and put forward the Congress-Muslim scheme with the direction that their demand was the minimum they could accept. Let us see what the demand is :—

(a) In all Executive Councils, Provincial and Imperial, half the number should be Indians. The European element in Executive Councils should be nominated from the ranks of men trained and educated in the public life of England. As regards Indians, the elected representatives of the people should have a voice in the election of the Indian members of the Executive Council, and for the purpose a principle of election should be adopted.

(b) All the Legislative Councils in India should have a substantial majority of elected representatives.

(c) The budget should be passed in the shape of money bills, fiscal autonomy being conceded to India.

" These are the main points we have to consider and say how they would work. The proposals may be very flattering to our sentiments of patriotic ambition. But, as practical men, we have to consider how they will work unless we consent to be tools in their hands. With a substantial number in the Legislative Council to be elected, who will have the chance of getting in? We have some experience of elections from the time of their institution, and that experience goes to prove that so long as the Brahmin official influence exists in the country, so long as the bar exercises influence on clients as it does now, so long as education is in a backward state among the non-Brahmin classes, the articulate class, viz., the Brahmins, have all the chances of success and the chances for non-Brahmins are practically nil. This is so far as the election to Legislative Councils is concerned. As for election to the Executive Councils, the non-Brahmin cannot even dream of it. With a majority of Brahmin members, with the exclusiveness of that class for generations, with characteristic contempt for lower classes for ages together, can any reasonable man imagine that they will at any time vote for one who is not a Brahmin, however worthy he may be. Surely, both the Legislative and the Executive Councils will

become close preserves for this class. It is proposed that the Government of this Presidency should have a Governor with four Executive Councillors, two of whom to come fresh from Europe and two to be Indians, elected from the non-official members of the Legislative Council. The sun-dried bureaucrat has no place in the Executive Council. In fact, the Governor, fresh from England, unacquainted with India, however great a politician he may be, the two European Councillors of the same description, and the two Indian members who cannot but be members of the Bar, all the five new to the work, the Europeans new to the country and the Indian politicians new to the art of Government, to carry on the government of 40 millions of people of differing races and interests and classes and creeds, is a monstrous proposal that no sane man will entertain. Imagine also the Legislative Council with no traditions of its own to hold the power of the purse and control the Government. It is a cry all over Southern India that Home Rule means Brahmin Rule. Can it be anything else? Going to the Imperial Executive Council, you will find the same position. The Viceroy fresh from England and half the members of the Executive Councils fresh from England, with the other half from the non-official elected Councillors, forming the Executive Government, to control the destinies of this vast Empire, suggests a situation which cannot be contemplated with equanimity by any reasonable person.

"Gentlemen, when I speak against the proposals of the Home Rulers, I do not mean that we do not want any reforms. We want reforms, and we want them badly, but not on the lines proposed by Home Rulers. You will remember that the Coimbatore Non-Brahmin Conference, the first of the kind, has proposed some reforms. The Biccavole Non-Brahmin Conference, the first of the kind in theTelugu Districts, has proposed similar reforms, all based on communal representation and reforms in instalments. These are indications of the kind of reforms we non-Brahmins can reasonably ask for, and you will also have to come to decisions as to the reforms this Conference should ask. I may be permitted to mention in this connection that the Andhra Conference lately held in this place passed a resolution in favour of communal representation, and the two famous dailies of Madras (The 'Hindu' and The 'New India') were forced to yield to the demand of communal representation, though the editor of the latter, at a recent meeting in Gokhale Hall, condemned it as dangerous to the non-Brahmin community itself. Even the All-India Congress League passed a resolution accepting the

principle of communal representation and I am glad that even the dissentient non-Brahmins have laid great stress upon this principle. Gentlemen, our way is made easy by these pronouncements of our opponents, and if we make our recommendations on the basis of communities and interests, without allowing the idea of mixed or territorial electorates to creep into our minds in a moment of unguarded benevolence, we shall be steering clear of all pitfalls and dangers. We should remember that our opponents are versatile and resourceful in their methods of persuasion, and when vehement abuse and sly intrigue fail, they will take to appeals to our sympathy and so-called patriotism, and it is then we should be careful and firm in doing our duty to our community We cannot injure the interests of the country by pressing the neglected claims of our community.

"I have now to call your attention to the grand scheme of taking signatures to indicate the acceptance of Home Rule by the people at large. Mr. Gandhi of South African fame is trying his hand at politics in India. With good intentions, no doubt, he proposed that signatures of the people at large be collected for presenting a monster petition to the Secretary of State when he comes here, and our Brahmin friends have caught the idea and are now hunting for signatures all over the country. Neither money nor pains is spared to carry out this object and various devices are contrived to catch innocent people in their nets. Mr. Gandhi has laid down that one of the conditions for taking signatures is that the petition should be read over and explained to the party before he signed. This condition is more observed in the breach than in the observance. Most of the people are not versed in English. I had the opportunity of reading the Telugu translation of the scheme, and though a graduate in Telugu myself I confess I was not able to understand it. Imagine what the common man in the street can make out of it! The general idea put into the heads of the people is that, if Home Rule is obtained, all taxes will be reduced; and the victims willingly sign it. What value should be placed on these signatures it is for the Government, under whose very nose this farce is going on, and for the Secretary of State to say. Suppose when the great mass of signatures is placed before the Secretary of State when he is here, he opens the Madras book of signatures, selects four streets and one or two names in those streets at random, sends for the signatories by the Government House sowars and questions them as to what they understood from the petition and what made them

sign, will not the whole fraud be exposed? Gentlemen, it is our duty to tell the people that, whatever may be the baits placed before them, they should not be deceived. They should be careful not to sign any and every paper that is placed before them. I know, as a matter of fact, the members of the Bar, there may be honourable exceptions, have each a book for collecting signatures, and every client is more or less forced to sign. It is thus signatures are obtained by hook or crook. Beware, my friends, of being caught in the snare.

EDUCATION

"Gentlemen, we shall now see by what means we can raise ourselves. Education stands first and foremost among our needs.

"If you look into the Census reports, it will be found that the percentage of the population literate in the vernaculars is 6, while the percentage among Brahmins is fifty; and, excluding the Brahmins, the percentage is less than 5. Could you imagine that with 5 per cent. of literates in vernaculars, we, the non-Brahmin community, will be able to cope with the Brahmin community with 50 per cent of literates? Put your shoulders to the wheel and make every boy and girl born acquire the rudiments of knowledge. I suppose, gentlemen, there is a pial school in every village or a board school in every group of villages. Compel every boy and girl to attend school, and in the course of a few years you will find all the grown up people will be literate. In all civilised countries Primary Education is the duty of the State to give. The question of cost is, no doubt, the disturbing factor, and it will take several years to perfect a scheme for the whole country and find means to meet the cost. It will not be a very costly thing for the villagers to maintain a school. Follow the indigenous system with necessary adaptations somewhat on modern lines, and you will obtain education for your children all the same but cheap.

"Then comes the question of Secondary Education. This is a matter of much difficulty and the course of instruction requires trained men. Every village secondary school will require a teacher not only to teach reading and writing but the rudiments of agriculture and some practical art. The lands attached to schools may be used as a training farm so that every boy going out of the school may go with some idea of improved agriculture. It will not be possible for the village communities to maintain schools of this kind. It surely requires Government aid.

"Then comes the question of High School and College Education. This is a matter of special interest for the middle and well-to-do classes. It must be borne in mind that the middle and well-to-do classes will have to contribute men to the Government service and to the legal and other professions and they should concentrate all their resources upon helping their children to qualify for these careers. The non-Brahmin communities will have to depend entirely upon themselves, unlike the Brahmins, who trade upon the charitable disposition of the non-Brahmins for securing help for education and maintenance. It must, however, be borne in mind that it is not necessary for well-to-do non-Brahmins to give higher education to all the children of the family, like the Brahmin community, which is very small and has no hereditary occupation to fall upon. If every non-Brahmin family will give higher education to one son, the total number of high educated non-Brahmins will be greater than educated Brahmins. Any attempt on the part of non-Brahmins to give higher education to all the members of the family will not only impoverish it, but will also wean them from their family avocations and prove detrimental to communal advancement. It must also be remembered that, in these days of political advancement and industrial and commercial enterprises, young men of means and leisure will be required for public purposes and for travel in foreign countries. To meet such contingencies, every well-to-do family should devote one scion of the family, giving him higher education to the highest possible extent that a family can afford. This will be an asset, not only to the family, but also to the State. There is one more branch, viz., Scientific Agricultural Education, which is of the greatest importance to us. No doubt, agriculture in these parts of the country is of advanced type, but it is centuries old and unimproved. In these days of advancement all over the world, agriculture must have its share of improvement. If you look into the statistics of production, it will be found that we do not produce even a third of what other countries are able to produce on equal areas. This is a matter to which I direct your attention. It is our duty to send our educated young men to different parts of the world to study improved agriculture and introduce improved methods so as to increase our wealth. These are some of the thoughts that occur to me on Education. I place them before you for your deep consideration, with the full hope that some well-thought-out scheme may be evolved, which will secure all the objects which I have mentioned.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRIES

"The next subject of importance is Commerce and Industries History tells us that in good old days India was famous for her industries. and that her wares were wanted abroad all over the then known world. It is a well known fact that in ancient days Indian wares were carried in Indian ships to all parts of the world, and it is said that, in the wars of the crusades, Richard Coeur de Leon carried Indian muslins and Indian art ware to British Isles. The wealth for which India was famous was due to her commerce and industries. Her commercial and industrial prosperity continued so long as the human hand had the ascendancy. With the advent of steam power Europe began to thrive and India began to decline, and gradually her ships began to disappear as well as her industries, so much so that not a sailing vessel of our own can be found and very few industries are in our hands. It is not our business now to inquire what causes led to the decline and who is responsible for it; but, if we are ever to rise in the scale of nations, if at all India shall once more become the land of the pagoda tree, it must be by her industries and commerce. We all know that Bombay is the premier city of India. A barren island becoming the premier city of India! What was the cause of this greatness? It is not the Sanscrit literature, it is not the world-admired Sankara's philosophy, it is not the political greatness that we are hankering after, which has made Bombay so great. It is enterprise—the enterprise of a small community of settlers, the Parsees. Look at Calcutta. The same story again. It was the Western settlers that introduced all sorts of industries in it and the commercial importance of the city is due to them. The same may be said of Madras. We can now guess what causes led to our commercial backwardness. On one side our want of education, our want of enterprise and our want of co operation led to stagnation, while the whole western world was making rapid progress. On the other hand, our rulers have not thought fit to give us such education as will make us fit for growth in industries and commerce. They gave us education really of a very high order, but it was on old old lines, never caring to shape it to suit modern requirements. The education we have is a splendid machine to make us clerks, schoolmasters and lawyers, and nothing else. We have enough of these and more. We want mechanics, we want men that will work with steam engines and electricity; and the education we want is of the kind to produce such men.

We want practical chemistry and physics, and the Government ought to shape the course of education to suit such purposes.

"The one great defect amongst us is that we have no confidence in our neighbour and we cannot trust him. Our caste system, which led to our living under fereign rule for centuries together, has made us lose confidence in one another, but times have now changed. We see all round us what amount of good the co-operative movement is doing. Is it not time to give up our isolation and co-operate and form companies to gather large capital and open spinning and weaving mills, oil extracting mills and sugar mills? You have any quantity of cotton seeds and sugarcane. Why allow others to benefit, while you produce the raw material with the sweat of your brow? Why allow your coasting trade to foreign steamship companies? I leave you to ponder over this.

LITIGATION

"I would now call your attention to the growing curse of litigation. It is increasing by leaps and bounds, so much so that the contagion is catching even secluded villages. Every year additional Munsiff Courts are established. Sub-courts are being added to the already existing number. The Madras High Court Bench consists now of 12 Judges to cope with the increasing work. Every year about two hundred B. L.'s come out of the University and the octopus of litigation spreads its tentacles to catch the prey, and we are now in the most unenviable position of being called the most litigious people in the world. You all know the system which prevailed before the British advent You have heard of the village system, which made village government complete in itself. There was the Peddakapu, the head of the village, the Kurnam for writing the village accounts, Ayavaru for teaching boys, the weaver, the Kamsala, the Kummara, the Chakala, the Mangala, and so on, to make the village government complete in itself. Whenever there was any civil dispute or a quarrel in the village, there was the village headman, who, with the help of the village elders, settled all disputes, and the village enjoyed peace. It is this system that saved the Hindu people from extinction and made them survive all foreign invasions. The British advent has changed this position altogether. The introduction of civil courts with all their paraphernalia has changed the quiet and peaceful settlement of disputes into one of a more elaborate and

speculative kind. Witnesses, who dare not speak lies in the presence of their own relations and their friends in the village courts, speak lies unblushingly before our courts. Evidence is a matter of barter and professional witnesses have become an institution, which is impossible in village courts. Litigation is fostered by law touts and this has also become a perfect institution. In fact, justice has become a toss-up, and the man with the longer purse wins. Coming to the cost of litigation, it is something astounding. We always hear complaints on platforms that law courts are very costly and court fees are prohibitive. We have heard of retaining fees mounting up to tens of thousand rupees in some big cases. We have known families being ruined by litigation. The court of first instance, first appeal and second appeal, and, at last, appeal to the Privy Council! No end of litigation and no closing of the purse. In fact, every litigant going to court ruins himself and ruins his family, and the people are stigmatised as a nation of liars. The remedy is in our hands. Let us go back to our old system. If there are any differences among us, let us ask our elders of the village to settle our differences and let us abide by their decision. The practice of lying we shall then be free from (pardon me for saying it). The rancour created in us by constant litigation we shall be free from. The time we spend in attending courts we shall use more usefully in legitimate pursuits of life.

"We shall be free from anxieties attendant upon litigation and from the inconvenience of living in cities and living upon unwholesome food. In fact, we shall live a clean life and a healthy life—uncontaminated with city life—by avoiding litigation. We shall, in addition, save all the money which we now squander upon court fees, lawyers, exactions, witnesses' batta and travelling and maintaining charges, which we can spend upon our families and children and have the satisfaction of seeing that our earnings got by the sweat of our brows are enjoyed by our kith and kin. This is what we on our part should do, but the Government has also a duty to perform. I learn that a bill is under contemplation to place village panchayats on a firm basis. Of the contents of the bill we are not aware. What we should like to have, I shall sketch out as a suggestion. A village panchayat should be formed for a group of villages. The District Revenue Offieer should select capable men of these villages to form a panel from which a bench of three should be formed by casting votes for each sitting All civil cases up to Rs. 100 and all bailable offences should be adjudicated by this

bench. Civil courts should be formed with the condition that the plaintiff should under no condition have costs of the court and the fees of the lawyers, but the defendent should get his costs in case he wins. In criminal cases, the accused should have all the costs if the case against him is thrown out. This will form a check upon all speculative cases and will not tempt people to resort to law courts. The profession of law touts and hired witnesses will be at a discount. Coming to High Courts, second appeals should be abolished altogether. If you look into statistics of second appeals, you will find a large proportion of them are thrown out in the Admission Court and a very large proportion of the appeals admitted are dismissed with costs. Anyhow, the results of the appeals are not commensurate with the costs incurred, both the parties losing heavily. There must be an end to litigation. If there is an end at the second appeal, it can with advantage to both parties end in one appeal. Some centuries ago the people of Norwich (a town in the East of England) petitioned Parliament or the Crown to stop "the plague of attorneys from which their city was suffering." The time has come for the inhabitants of this Presidency to make a similar prayer to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. Only here, for "attorneys," substitute "lawyers." I am not a lawyer and I am not much acquainted with law, but what I see around me makes me venture with these suggestions, and I ask the indulgence of my lawyer friends, who, I hope, will not impute unworthy motives to me.

DRINK

"The last subject I would touch on is Drink. It is a matter of very great concern to those that look into the statistics of liquor traffic to find that it is increasing every moment. Our benign Government is making every endeavour to put down this curse by a policy which does not appear to bring about the required results. The liquor duties are being enhanced to make liquor more and more costly, leaving liquor ships to sell as much as they can, and one wonders sometimes how the liquor shop vendors survive the ever-increasing shop rents and ever-increasing duties. The fact is, the consumer pays more and more for his drink and the Government complacently puts down the increased revenue to the increasing prosperity of the people. When a man takes to drink, he takes a certain quantity, whether it costs him less or more. The more costly his drink becomes the smaller the proportion of his earnings which goes to the family until the family is ruined. Thus there is no

reduction of consumption corresponding to the increase of cost, and the policy of the Government appears to be a failure except in fetching a larger revenue. To remedy this drink evil, I once had the opportunity of moving a resolution in the Local Legislative Council and making the following suggestion: that the supply of liquor should be prohibited to boys below 18 years old, that liquor shops should not be kept open longer than 7 p. m. in villages and 8 p. m. in cities, and that the supply of liquor for second and third drinks should be made penal. The Government cordially agreed with me and consented to raise the age from 14 to 16 and not to 18 according to my suggestion. They also shortened the time of keeping the shops open by an hour, up to 9 p. m. in the city and 8 p. m. in moffusil. I accepted the compromise as a first instalment. A further move in the above direction by the Government and the practice of passive resistance against drink by the people themselves will not only make the people prosperous but help them to turn out better work and earn more wealth. They will be better men both socially and morally. All the atrocities resulting from drink will be avoided and India will have a cleaner record of criminal offences.

CONCLUSION

"Gentlemen, we are a sturdy race. We have strong physique and strong will, but our potentiality is dormant. Our education is so backward that the world around us is a sealed book to us. We should wake up and educate ourselves. Our eyes will then be opened and we shall then see what vistas of greatness lie before us. Large fields of glorious achievement are open to us. What heights of glory can we not ascend? Our Brahmin friends sometimes tell us that there is not much good in striving for high offices in the State, and yet is it not through these offices that they wield such enormous power over us? Not only as members of the bar they exercise control over us making us submit to their wishes, but also as school masters directing our children to rebel against constituted authority. In fact, we are nothing but slaves in the hands of the Brahmin hierarchy. It is our turn to get the ascendancy. Let us only eduate ourselves and in due course we shall have our portion of Government service and political power, proportionate to our strength and importance. With the spread of education amongst our youth we shall have the bar in our hands, and our Brahmin friends who wield so much power over us will know their limits, and we shall have the control

of our boys in our hands and direct them along proper lines. All this will come in time. Only let us start on educational enterprise at once without losing time.

"Let us learn to improve our agriculture, which is our mainstay in life. Let us send the youngmen of well-to-do families to the Coimbatore and the Pusa Agricultural Colleges, and let them study agricultural improvements, so that they may introduce them in our country and make two blades grow where one grows now. Let our graduates travel in foreign countries, such as Japan, Britain and America, and see what great advance agriculture has made there and fntroduce modern methods here. We shall then become wealthy.

"Let us give up all distrust of neighbours, let us learn to trust one another and co-operate, so that we may form joint stock companies, instead of having small capital and opening a rice mill; and instead of a family with some wealth establishing a cotton ginning factory, let wealthy people join together, form joint stock companies, and with large capital start cotton spinning and weaving mills and supply our own requirements.

"As I have said already, we have plenty of seeds and we can have any number of oil extracting and refining factories. The same may be said of sugarcane. A large number of adult population have been emigrating to foreign countries in quest of work. We can very well utilise that labour for all our factory work, and the labour that enriches foreign countries can very well be utilised in our own country with great advantage to the labourers and to the ceuntry at large.

"I once again ask you to remember what I have said on the subject of litigation and to make up your minds to give up litigation altogether and get differences settled by elders and friends. Gentlemen, improve in the directions I have mentioned, your wealth and importance will increase and a day will come when we shall be much above the level of our Brahmin friends and we can stand on a par with any European nation. The time is not far off when you will completely be able to govern your country and deserve to have Home Rule in its entirety. The British Government will that day look with satisfaction on the grand work they have done by way of raising a fallen nation to their own level and most pleasantly and willingly hand over the Government to us. To that day we are looking forward and with that time in view let us begin to work. Gentlemen,

I have finished what I have to say. I thank you all for having given me a kind and patient hearing. My errors of omission and commission I have every confidence you will pardon, and anything of worth in what I have said I hope you will not reject."

Messages

Telegrams from the following, among others, sympathising with the objects of the Conference were next read :—

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur K. Suryanarayana Murthi Naidu, Rao Bahadur G. Narayanaswami Chetti and Pro. Ramamurthi.

A subjects committee was then formed, and the Conference adjurned for lunch.

The Conference reassembled in the afternoon with Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti in the chair.

Resolutions

WAR

I This Conference prays for the speedy success of the British and their allies in the Great War.

DEATH OF R. LAKSHMINARASA REDDI

II This Conferenc places on record its deep regret at the death of Rao Bahadur R Lakshminarasa Reddi.

EDUCATION

III. This Conference urges on the Government the supreme necessity of extending Primary Education in India, and is of opinion that Elementary Education should be made free and compulsory in all municipal areas and in other areas where-ever possible The Conference also urges that a scheme of scholarships for the benefit of poor non Brahmin students should be formulated at once and that District Educational Boards should be formed soon to do all that is necessary for the advancement of education in each district.

REFORMS

IV. This Conference thanks the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu and the British Cabinet for the pledge to increasingly associate Indians in the Government of the country with a view to

developing in India self-governing institutions and making India in the end an autonomous part of the British Empire. This Conference urges the scheme of political reforms adopted at the Bikkavole Non-Brahmin Conference, which, in the opinion of the non-Brahmins, are necessary for the country, at the present stage.

Mr. K. Gopalakrishniah moved the above resolutirons.

Mr. A. P. Patro

Mr. A. P. Patro, Berhampore, in seconding the resolution, made a powerful speech.

He admitted that he was one of those associated in drawing up the Congress-Muslim League scheme of reforms, which was being so vigorously pressed on the attention of the Government now. At the time he was engaged on that work he had been profoundly convinced of the necessity of Swaraj for India. For the matter of that there was no time in all his life when he did not feel that India wanted self-government. He was a traitor who did not want Mother India to be self-governing. But since the Congress-Muslim League reforms were drafted and passed both by the National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, it had been found necessary to adopt certain modifications. One of these had been to accept the principle of communal representation, and because of the acceptance of this principle, it became incumbent to look at the reform scheme from a slightly different standpoint. And thus looked at, it was clear that the Congress-League reform scheme was defective in some respects and it was these defects that the non-Brahmins sought to rectify. Far be it from the non-Brahmin community to work the ruin of India by standing in the way of the country becoming self-governing.

After all, what were the modifications that the non-Brahmins asked for in the Congress-League reforms? The non-Brahmins strongly felt that elections to Executive Councils would never do and it would also not do for Legislative Councils to have the power of passing money bills. There were strong grounds for what the non-Brahmins felt, and ardent Home Rulers would do well to pause and reflect. Did anybody seriously contend that it would be possible to administer India by having elected members in the Executive Councils? In every well governed country in the world, the head of the administration selected his immediate colleagues, and he was not forced to pull together

with all and sundry on the score of their ability to secure votes. Again, as regards money bills being passed by Legislative Councils, this would also never do The non-Brahmins asked for a cabinet system of Government, under which certain departments of administration, such as education, co-operation, etc., would be completely handed over to Indian agencies.

Lastly, he mentioned Prof. Paranjpe of Poona as being in substantial agreement with him, and concluded by saying that India most certainly wanted Home Rule, but the grant of it must be only by easy and successive stages.

Mr. K Lakshmipathi moved an amendment to the effect that non-Brahmin representatives in the reformed councils should be 30, instead of only 25, as provided for in the Biccavole scheme of reforms. The amendment was carried. The principal resolution, as amended, was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING REMARKS

Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti, in bringing the proceedings to a close, made a strong speech. He said that the Brahmins had been too greedy in the past Not content with monopolising all Government posts, they just started to capture the very administration of the country, with a view to impose their yoke on the other races inhabiting India. Brahmin machinations had opened the eyes of the non-Brahmins, and already the death-knell of Brahmin domination and of Brahmin arrogance was being sounded. The British Government was also becoming aware of the utter untrustworthiness of the Brahmins. For years the Government took the Brahmin under its protecting wing, gave him high appointments and generally made much of him. The Government, in fact, took a delight in playing the patron to the Brahmin and all the while deliberately ignored the claims of the non-Brahmins, who contributed most to the revenue of the country Now, however, the Government had found out what the Brahmin was, and how with base ingratitude he tried to fire the roof that had sheltered him. The Home Rule agitation of the Brahmin had opened the Government's eyes. The present was a most fitting opportunity for non-Brahmins to come forward. Only they must educate themselves and make themselves eligible for high Government appointments.

The duty of every non-Brahmin should be to educate his boys, and, with this in view, let all non-Brahmins liberally contribute and create various private educational agencies Whatever Government might in future do for the educational progress of the non-Brahmins, it was absolutely necessary largely to supplement it by means of private munificence.

Mr A. C Parthasarathi Naidu proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the members of the Reception Committee, and the proceedings terminated with three cheers for the King Emperor.

The Dissentients' Conference at Bezwada

Side by side with the Non-Brahmin Leaders' Conference at Bezwada, a separate Conference was held in the Mylavaram Theatre under the auspices of the Madras Presidency Association, with Mr T. Ramaswami Chowdari, Bar-at-law, in the chair. Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai was the person who figured prominently in this Conference, which proved quite a tame affair as compared with the Leaders' Conference.



THE ZAMINDAR OF SINGAMPATTI,
Chairman of the Reception Committee,
Tamil Leaders' Conference, Tinnevelly.

The Tamil Leaders' Conference, Tinnevelly.

(30th November and 1st December, 1917.)

The Non-Brahmin Leaders' Conference of the three districts of Tinnevelly, Ramnad and Madura, opened on 30th November, 1917, amidst scenes of great enthusiasm, at the Ganapathi Vilas Theatre, Tinnevelly. The town had put on a festive garb. Arches with such inscriptions as "The demon of caste should go," and "Non-Brahmins, safeguard your interests" spanned the roads and car streets. The theatre had been most tastefully decorated with festoons of flowers and looked like a fairy garden.

Amongst the prominent leaders of the Non-Brahmin Movement in Madras who had taken the Boat Mail the previous Wednesday evening for Tinnevelly, to attend the Conference, were the Zamindar of Telaprole, the President-elect of the Conference, Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti, the Kumarraja of Chellapalli, Messrs T. Ethiraja Mudaliar, O. Kandaswami Chetti and P V. Doraiswami Mudaliar. Numbers of non-Brahmins at the different stations came to accord them an enthusiastic reception, and the party were repeatedly garlanded. There were enthusiastic demonstrations at Trichy and at Madura. The Zamindars of Elayarasendal and Kurivikulam joined the party at Koilpatti At Tinnevelly the reception was especially striking. The Zamindar of Singampatti, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and his colleagues on the Committee, were at the station, and there was an imposing display of paraphernalia of the temples in the town and neighbourhood, and these led the procession, in which the party from Madras were taken to the Ettiapuram Rajah's bangalow, where they were lodged. Despite the rain, the people flocked in thousands along the roads and moved with the procession along its route,

FIRST DAY

The large and enthusiastic gathering present in the hall was representative of all classes of the non-Brahmin community, including Mahomedans, Indian Christians and the Depressed Classes. The delegates on the platform included several members of the aristocracy and some of the wealthiest people in the three districts. There were upwards of 1000 delegates from the three districts of Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelly, and the whole gathering exceeded 2000. The Zemindar of Telaprole, Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti, Mr. P. Ramarayaningar and other leaders received an ovation as they entered the hall. Among those supporting the President on the platform were the Zemindar of Singampatti, the Zamindar of Dhoddappanaickanur, the Kumararajah of Chellapalli, Mr. P. Ramarayaningar, Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti, the Zamindar of Elavarasendal, the Zamindar of Kurivikulam, Mr. S. Gnanavolivu, Mr I. K. Tulsiram, Mr. Medai Dalavoy, Tirumalaiyappa Mudliar, Mr. V. Thirumalai Pillai, Mr. M. Manickavasagam, Mr. O. Kandaswami Chetti, Mr P V. Doraiswami Mudaliar, Mr. S Somasundaram Pillai, Rev. F. Cook, Mr. J. SingaramPillai, Mr. T. Ethiraja Mudaliar, Mr. Allauddin Rowther, Mr. Muhammaduddin Sahib and Mr Nelliappa Pillai(Secretary of the Reception Committee).

After prayer, the Zemindar of Singampatti, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his welcome address. The following is a summary of the address. :—

Welcome Address

"It is my deliberate opinion that we are not at present fit for self-government, but, on the other hand, we should look to the British Government to maintain its own powers unimpaired, so as to enable them to discharge their sacred duty of protecting the interests of the voiceless backward millions against the aggrandisement of the advanced minority. In other words, I would suggest a cautious and general advancement towards the colonial form of Government and not hastely create the oligarchy of any community or communities over others.

"I strongly feel that, considering the backward state of the communities represented by this Conference, it is only fair and just that, in any measure of reforms that may be introduced in the near future, sufficient safeguards, such as communal representation, etc., should be provided for, with a view to protect the interests of the various communities in the country.

"Hitherto, in the controversies regarding communal representation in the legislative councils and local bodies, it was contended by the opponents of the principle that insurmountable difficulties lay in the way and that it was not practicable. I am glad, however, to see of late from the correspondence in the press, that there is a welcome change in the attitude of the Home Rule propagandists and there are unmistakable signs that they are convinced of the reasonableness of such representation in the future enlarged legislative councils. In this connection, I think it is my duty to state clearly that, by communal representation, I mean that the members to be returned to the legislative and other assemblies should be chosen from among the members of the respective communities. I must assure you that communal representation alone cannot uplift our communities from their present state of backwardness: but we should realise that the time has already arrived when we should help ourselves towards attaining equality with our Aryan brothers, and that we should spare no pains in elevating our communities by our own efforts, supplemented by such help as we can secure from the paternal Government. This object can be easily achieved by diffusing education, general and industrial, among the masses.

"Members of every community, who are better circumstanced, should render all help financially and otherwise towards the education of not only the members of their own communities, but should extend such help to members of others who deserve such help.

"I may proceed further and suggest the immediate starting of 'The Dravidians Amelioration Fund,' to be made up of voluntary contributions from all Dravidians, high or low, to be collected periodically by local committees in all villages on all national festive occasions, as well as during marriages and other domestic festivities. This fund may be utilised for scholarships to deserving Dravidian students of high schools and colleges and for promoting higher, special, scientific or technical education of such students in India as well as in foreign countries. Thus the elevation of the Dravidian community will become a possibility.

"When, in this manner, the inequalities among the different classes of Indian subjects are comparatively minimised, if not totally removed, there will not be the slightest hindrance to the colonial form of Government for India under British guidance."

The President was then installed in the chair amidst thundering applause, and he rose and delivered the following address :—

Presidential Address

"Gentlemen,—I thank you for the honour you have done me in inviting me to preside over the Non-Brahmin Conference of this very important group of districts, comprising Tinnevelly, Madura and Ramnad. I wish you had secured a president with greater experience of political work. I have been reminded by "New India" that I am a recruit to politics from the field of sports. I hope that I shall conduct my political campaign in as sportsmanlike a spirit as I did in field sports. I can assure you that I shall never be so unsportsmanlike as to hit below the belt. I had come fully prepared to give back as good blows as I received and to give them straight from the shoulder right in the face. Although it is only a short time since I began to take active interest in politics, I have been for some time a careful student of what has been going on in the Indian political world. I have watched the wise political activities of my elders, who, by steady stages, have built up the edifice of the Indian National Congress, developed public opinion and awakened the political consciousness of the Indian people. I have also watched with pain and sorrow the development of the disruptive forces in politics, which began at the Congress in Surat, in 1907. The extremists' activities, as displayed at Surat, were alarming, but the presence at the helm of Indian politics of the steadying hand of the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta saved the situation and for a time robbed the extremists' activities of their serious consequences. The lamented death of Mr. Gokhale early in 1915 and that of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta later in the year opened the floodgates of extremism, and, in spite of the gallant stand made by the Congress under the leadership of Sir S. P. Sinha in 1915, that political body was swarmed by the extremists in 1916, and at the present time the great Indian political organisation, which took the Indian political leaders many years to construct and develop, stands in all the hideousness of an extremist caucus. The forces that had operated to steady the Congress, preventing it from the horrors of extremism, have practically disappeared, and you have now the sorry spectacle of the most undesirable elements in Indian politics speaking in the name of the people of India. It is thus that Home Rule has risen form the ashes of the constitutional Indian National Congress.

A DEFENCE OF EUROPEANS

"The Home Rulers incessantly and venomously attack British administration in India and the non-official Europeans. I hold no brief for either, but, in the name of decency and because these attacks are making co-operation between the Europeans and Indians impossible, I propose to examine briefly the charges directed against the European officials and non officials. We are told by the Home Rulers that the Mesopotamia Commission report has shown that the administration in India is incapable. No one can wish to palliate the Mesopotamia scandal, but it is monstrously unfair of the Home Rulers to forget that the very report they cite placed the responsibility not on the Government of India but on two individuals—Lord Hardinge, the idol of the Home Rulers, and Sir Beauchamp Duff, neither of them belonging to the much abused bureaucracy. The report showed that Lord Hardinge and Beauchamp Duff ran the Mesopotamia campaign themselves and that the average official had no more to do with Mesopotamia than with the moon.

"The European official in India may have his defects; he may be too much the slave of routine, too impatient of criticism and too apt to believe that his way of doing things is the only way. But, as a rule, to a great extent, he is upright, conscientious, competent and invariably anxious to hold the balance even between warring creeds and castes. As for the non-official European, no doubt, hitherto he has been too much absorbed in his own business to heed Indian movements which have a genuine claim on his sympathy. But he has, no doubt, played a great part in the economic development of India, and, besides what he has done himself, he has served as a pioneer and as an example of patient enterprise, from whom our Indian business men have learned a good deal and must learn a good deal m re. It is true he has not been a pure altruist; what man of business is? But the fact remains that on the whole he has added greatly to India's prosperity The Home Rulers tell us that he exploits the country and that he takes his profits out of India. You can easily make out a case against him by looking only to that fact just as a socialist makes out a case against the wealthy captain of industry by dwelling on his great profits. You must look at things more broadly. If the European merchant or planter or industrialist makes profit out of India's products and labour, how does he do it? Is it by stealing the ryots' crops or exacting money from the coolies? You know that he cannot make profits unless he finds for India's products

the world's best markets, unless he develops the demands for them in other parts of the world, and unless he directs the industry of the Indian labourer into the most lucrative channels. That being so, you can readily see that the Europeans' profits is only one aspect of the matter, the other being the direction of India's products to the markets where they will bring the producer the highest prices and the instruction of the Indian labourer in the best methods and the use of the most economical machinery or materials. If you were to compare the profits of the European merchants in India with the amount of the increase in the prices paid to cultivators and the wages paid to labourers as the result of the enterprise of these merchants, you would find the balance of the advantage well in India's favour I quite admit that, other things being equal, it is better that profits should stay in India, but other things are not equal at present or likely to become so for years to come. Though we have our Tatas and some few others and though we all hope the number of the great Indian directors of commercial and industrial enterprises will increase rapidly, we are not in a position to do without the British merchant, banker and economic expert. Now here we must not forget that, next to the strength of British rule in India, the character and ability of the British merchants are the chief inducements to the European capitalist to invest his money in India. Let Mrs. Besant or Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer go to the city of London to raise a few crores for enterprises to be run by B.A., B.L.'s under Home Rule and see how much capital they can get and at what rate. I do not think they would get any except from charitable society. I am for swadesi, but I am also for commonsense; and I tell you there is not one of us here that would not indirectly suffer if British capital were made shy of India by crazy experiments. You must remember that British capital was brought to India to develop her resources at a time when Indian capital was shy and was not available for the development of Indian industries. Even now Indian capital is not entirely out of its old purdha, and, what is more, Indian capitalists, when they do show an inclination to invest their capital, show a preference to have their industrial concerns managed by Europeans rather than by their own countrymen.

IMMORALITY OF HOME RULE

"Here I will ask you to note very particularly a curious feature of the Home Rule with which we are threatened. As the Brahmin Home Rulers will explain, they are very

moderate in their demands. They do not like to drive the British entirely out of India any more than they want to exterminate the non-Brahmins. Far from it, we non-Brahmins are to remain and multiply in order that the chosen few may have subjects to rule. And the British are to remain to keep off external dangers by their military and naval forces and to suppress us if we should dare to oppose the orders of a Brahmin oligarchy. Home Rule, in other words, is to be Brahmin in policy but British in the means used for enforcing that policy. Now, Gentlemen, that is utterly impracticable. It is also utterly immoral. Great Britain has the right to demand from us obedience and, if necessary, to secure it by force, provided she rules well and is willing to give us a share in ruling as we become fitter and fitter to bear the responsibility, but I say emphatically that Great Britian had no right to say to us :—" I will put over you an oligarchy in which you have no share, which you would distrust, which is socially contemptuous of you ; I will let that oligarchy shape its policy as it pleases, and, if you dare to dispute its authority, then I, even if I disapprove of its policy, will use the British army to enforce non-British policy." She has no right to say that to us. England is responsible for the welfare and for the uplifting of the socially down-trodden and silent masses, who form the majority of the population of India. She cannot, in the name of fairplay, make a present of them to the Home Rulers like dakshana given to the officiating Brahmins in a temple. If we are to have Home Rule at all, then it will have to be Home Rule in every sense, not Home Rule enforced by British bayonets, but Brahmin Vakil rule enforced by a posse of litigants, with full liberty to the peoples of India to deal with it and them as may seem proper. But, Gentlemen, Britain must understand that we are not cattle to be sold by one master to another, with the further humiliation of having the first master standing by with a bludgeon in case we object to be sold.

" Brahmin Home Rulers say we are reactionary. It is not true; I want progress, as all of you do, but the progress we want should be steady and genuine and so directed that no community shall be defrauded or persecuted or kept back. All the communities in India are not in the same stage of civilisation ; in the historic past, our Brahmin friend had taken good care they should not be. Under British rule, all can go on peacefully developing and, more, can gradually enter into the enjoyment of political rights and powers. Eventually we can thus reach true self-government, in which

all the great communities in India have their share, and we can reach it with goodwill all round. But to petrify things now in a state of transition, when many of the communities are quite incapable of exercising political influence or defending their rights, would be senseless and criminal. You have seen for yourselves the effects of premature constitutional changes in other countries—in Turkey, Persia, China. You are seeing it now in the semi-Asiatic country, Russia. But remember that these countries were in a sense isolated, whereas India is part of the largest and most widely scattered empire the world has known. The Home Rulers talk of Home Rule within the Empire. If India gets Home Rule to-morrow, do you think she would be advanced enough for Australia and Canada to have dealings with her on a footing of equality? The dominions are bound to each other and to Great Britain very largely by community of race, religion, speech, social organisation, though there are Dutch in South Africa and French in Canada. Their populations are constantly being increased by settlers from the Mother Country. But India has no such link with the dominions. She is foreign and mysterious to them. That is why she needs the British as interpreters between her and them. That is why India should carefully preserve her specially close relation to the United Kingdom, until she is fully qualified to stand on her own feet as a self-governing dominion and has been long enough a participator in the new life of the Empire after the war to be well understood by the dominions.

"I beg you to think of these things. Never mind about the innumerable schemes for constitutional reforms that are thrust on you, incompatible with the hard facts about India, her peoples, her government, her place in the Empire. Do not stupefy yourself with catchwords about self-government. Catchwords will not take the machinery of administrative work. Look at the few plain truths of the matter, and leave political speculation to the Brahmin constitution-mongers. Work hard in everyday matters for the betterment of the depressed classes and the increase of the Indian peoples' prosperity, think courageously, speak out candidly, act firmly. Indian's future cannot be built on make-believes about her capacity to govern herself now. That is well enough in mere discussion perhaps; but in the day of trial it will not avail you to say, "I know I can govern myself because Sir Subramanya Iyer told me so," when all about you are laid prostrate—the result of your actual effort to govern yourselves. Do not be led into cheap vituperation

against the British : words of abuse cannot change the facts and they create resentment which must have evil effects. Above all, remember that you are in a way trustees for the millions of our backward community. Act so in defence of their interests that in time to come they will not be able to say: "At the turning point in India's history our brothers betrayed us, because we preferred the loud praise of "New India" to the dumb gratitude of the Real India."

MILITARY SERVICE

"I wish to say just a word about the recent generous action of the Government of India in throwing open the ranks of the Indian Defence Force to our countrymen. It used to be a complaint, and a very legitimate complaint, that Indians were not permitted to form their own volunteer corps, but had to depend upon the generosity of the Europeans and the Anglo-Indians to join in existing volunteer corps. That barrier has now been removed and all Indian subjects of His Majesty are now free to join the Indian Defence Force. It is true that the Indian Defence Force differs considerably from the volunteer corps of pre-war days. This is unavoidable, for units recruited in time of war must necessarily differ from units serving as reserve in times of peace. The Government have also promised that the commissioned ranks in the army would be opened to the Indians as they are trained and acquire the necessary military experience. Some of our advanced friends would like to be officers and to command the armies before they learn how to serve. The Irishman, who would not get into water till he has learned how to swim, is probably still waiting on the banks of the river, and the Indian, who will not join the army except as an officer, may have to wait a good long time, if not for ever, before he becomes a military man. I am addressing the non-Brahmins of Southern India, who, from the early days of the East India Company, have distinguished themselves as brilliant fighters. To our forefathers belong the distinction of having fought to lay the foundations of the British Empire in India, and is it too much to expect that the decendants of those, who helped to lay the foundations of British power in India should now strive to maintain that power? I hope that the non-Brahmins of Southern India will respond to the call of duty to serve in the ranks of the Indian Defence Force in large numbers and will maintain the great military traditions of their race with undimmed lustre.

THE NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT

"I wish to touch briefly on the Non Brahmin Movement before I close. The grievances of the non Brahmins are as old as the Code of Manu. The present Non-Brahmin Movement has only brought to the surface what has been smouldering under ground for ages. Surgeons say that the best way to treat an unpleasant ulcer, which is burrowing underneath the surface, is to lay it freely open. That is the treatment that the present Non-Brahmin Movement has adopted, thanks to Dr. Nair, Mr. P. Ramarayaningar, Rao Bahadur Theagaraya Chetti and the Kumara Rajah of Challapalli, who have performed this operation. Our Brahmin friends, who have known the existence of the non-Brahmin grievances all along, now pretend to be surprised at their open manifestation. They accuse the leaders of the Non-Brahmin Movement of creating class hatred. The leaders of the Non-Brahmin Movement did not create class hatred. They found it existing in a most dangerous form, they have only brought it out to the full light of day with a view to cure it in the most rational manner. No statesman, who has to deal with the destinies of India, can afford to ignore the significance of the Non-Brahmin Movement. It is a demand for social justice, equal opportunities to all, equality between man and man in the eyes of the governing authority. No solution of the political problem of India will be wise and lasting, which does not recognise the justice of the non-Brahmin claims. To ignore them would be unstatesmanlike, to suppress them would lay the foundation for future revolution, and the only method of dealing with them will be to face them courageously and deal with them with sympathy and justice. This movement cannot be killed by vituperation, misrepresentation or ridicule. It has got enough vitality to survive the adverse Home Rule influences which are now trying to destroy it. I hope you non-Brahmins, at all events, are convinced that the manner in which the movement, started with a small beginning, has developed and grown in less than a year's time, has demonstrated its vitality, strength and reasonableness in a manner most convincing to all reasonable men. Your plain duty is to support the movement and make its labours productive of fruitful results at no distant date.

"I have now done. I have not given you a scheme of reforms of my own. In that respect my address may be heterodox, but I realise my own shortcomings as a political reformer as well as the difficulties which the Secretary of State and the Viceroy will have to face if every educated man in India is to

formulate his own scheme of political reconstruction. I leave the framing of practical proposals to our leaders. It is for them to lead and it is for me to follow, and all that we have to do is to commend to you the proposals already put forward by our non-Brahmin leaders. It is a want of discipline among us that has in the past diminished our usefulness. The power to organise for a common object is the first essential to political progress. I am sorry we have not yet acquired that capacity. Like the famous Scotch army, which consisted of three and thirty pipers and four and twenty men, political movements in India have more leaders than followers. The truth of this statement will be realised by Mr. Montagu before he leaves India, and I hope that this fact alone will convince him that it is hopeless to concede political self-government to a conglomeration of isolated leaders. So far as we are concerned, we are only at the beginning of our political progress It is our aspiration to deserve political power, in times to come, by the display of all those qualities which go to constitute a nation Let us, therefore, begin at the beginning and organise ourselves as a political force. Discipline and obedience to authority are the corner-stones of all organisations. The many conferences which the non-Brahmins have organised within the last few months and carried on without a hitch are ample testimony to our powers of organisation, but a great deal more than this is required. Sacrifices may have to be made by individuals in the general cause, ambitious individuals may have to suppress themselves in the interests of general organisation, habits of self denial will have to be cultivated, obedience to authority will have to be implanted in the minds of all workers, and perseverance will have to be exercised in the great work that is before us. With these faculties cultivated, with our organisations perfected, the Non-Brahmin Movement must progress from stage to stage with justice as its claim and loyalty as its watchword."

A subjects committee was then formed and the Conference rose for the day, to sit again the next day.

SECOND DAY

The Conference resumed its sitting at 1 p.m. on 1st December 1917, and considered and passed the following resolutions.

Resolutions

LOYALTY

I. This Conference expresses its deep loyalty to the King and prays for the speedy termination of the war with success to the allies.

II. This Conference, while recognizing the great part played by India in the war, is of opinion that further efforts should be made to bring the war to a successful termination.

The President

The Rajah of Telaprole, the President, in moving the above resolutions, said :—

"Gentlemen, few words are needed from me to commend this proposition to your acceptance. We love the King and are proud to belong to the Empire over which he presides. We are also proud of whatever part India, especially the Madras Presidency, has been able to play in this terrible war against German militarism. In this connection, there is one point to which I may call your attention. This presidency has not been behind her sister presidencies in the matter of alleviating the pain of the sick and the wounded. I refer to the Madras War Fund. The rich and the poor, of our great non-Brahmin community, have contributed their mite to this fund.. But a great deal more help is required to make the lot of the soldiers, who have fought for us and are daily sacrificing themselves, easier and less painful. We have amongst us this day zamindars, mittadars merchants and other wealthy men May I appeal to them as well as other citizens of Tinnevelly, Ramnad and Madura Districts not to relax their generous efforts to keep our Madras Hospitalship going and to continue their benevolent service to the sick and the wounded. I shall not say more. I have no doubt you will accept these resolutions with enthusiastic approval."

The resolutions were unanimously adopted

PRIMARY EDUCATION

III. This Conference requests the Government to give free and compulsory primary education, to take steps to make it possible for all non-Brahmin students to get admission into schools and colleges, to adopt a scheme of scholarships for poor non-Brahmin boys, to start additional schools for girls in both rural and urban areas, and to form an educational board in each district. This Conference is further of opinion that any school, college or institution, which restricted admission to pupils of particular caste or creed, should not be entitled to receive any contribution from Government revenues or other public funds : and protests emphatically against the diversion of the

funds of Devasthanams towards the maintenance of Sanskrit colleges in which invidious distinctions of caste are introduced.

Mr. M. T. Subramania Mudaliar of Uttamapalayam moved the above resolution in a Tamil speech. It was seconded by Mr. Sivagnanam Pillai of Ambasamudram, and supported by delegates from Srivaikuntam, Vellagai, Ramnad and Virudupatti.

All speakers denounced Brahmin domination in the strongest terms and appealed to non-Brahmins to unite and make rapid progress,

Mr. Eardley Norton.

Messrs Norton and Osborne arrived when this resolution was being discussed, and, being asked by the Chairman to say a few words, Mr. Norton said:—

The subject was a non-political one, and even their most inveterate enemies or their supposed most inveterate enemies, their staunchest opponents and greatest critics, could meet on that platform and speak without enunciating any doctrine of their own. Speaking at a conference of non-Brahmins, he understood their complaint was that they have not had the opportunities for much educational advance, and that, as in the past, this had been monopolised by the Brahmins. He held no brief for the Brahmin, but on behalf of truth he must tell them that the fault lay very much at their own door. No one was worth being called their friend who did not bring that fact fairly and squarely before their minds. There was no use lamenting that those of a higher class had compulsorily or secretly kept them back from the gifts of educational progress. They must all have been aware for many years past that attainment to any profession under the British Government could only be reached by educational progress; and if, as a matter of fact, they were at the present moment backward, the fault was in a great measure their own and the remedy was also their own. The remedy was not merely to complain. It did not lay simply in casting envious glances at those who had reached to posts they have not reached. The real remedy was to be up and to act. Such of the rich non-Brahmins as were rich, instead of spending their wealth in fashions and methods, which gave no profit except the profit of self-indulgence, must recognise the necessity of providing education for those who are not so well endowed as themselves He could not help thinking that the help given by other people's charity was not nearly so great an

incentive to those who relied on its future result as the attainment which came from the knowledge that the help flowed from one's own industry, from one's own pocket and one's own community. Nothing could be done in this world without self-sacrifice. He would advise non-Brahmins to collect funds towards the endowment of colleges which should be educational homes for the non-Brahmin castes. Their complaint was that they had been kept away from educational advance by Brahminical influence. He did not know whether it was true or whether it was a mere imaginary grievance. If it was true, it was a shame If it was not true, they ought not to complain. The result was due to their own neglect of opportunity and it was just because of that that they should come to themselves and look at themselves fairly and squarely in the glass He would advise Indians to show a united front in their demands to the Government of India, to put aside sectarian differences, and remember that, in the world of politics, as in all their other engagements in life, they had to meet and trust their adversaries. They should not be carried way by the notion that everybody who was not a non-Brahmin was inimically disposed towards them and then they would find that many of their difficulties were imaginary. When they stood shoulder to shoulder and presented a united front, their demands on Government would receive new strength, which would be absolutely irresistable. The fact that they were not united was not merely against them but against the whole cause of progress. They must look at the question of reforms simply from the everyday point of view. If men, who had been tried in the council had done their work well and had been found competent to discharge their responsibilities, let them go on. If they wanted communal representation, they might ask for it, but they should not try to impede advance and progress throughout India. As sure as night follows day, there were reforms of a large character looming in the air, and in them he believed there would be some advance, no matter how small, how limited, towards responsible government. There was no step towards responsible government that did not in some measure place the executive under the control of the legislature. That the Congress scheme would not be fully granted the Congress leaders themselves knew, but they knew also that in proportion to what they asked their demands would be frittered down. But they were bound to get a considerable step in advance of to-day. They should get rid of racial differences and take a broad and generous view of the situation and trust their

opponents. They should believe in their own countrymen; they should believe that when the time came when greater powers were granted, their opponents would be true to their trust.

Mr. B. V. Shunmuga Nadar of Virudupatti was the next speaker. He said :—

The proportion of illiterates in India was appallingly larger than in European countries, and the reason for this was to be found in the fact that in ancient times, in Hindu States, the ministers were all Brahmins, and they, being afraid that other communities would also come up if they were given education, only educated their own people and made it penal for other communities to educate themselves. For instance, it was ordained by them that a Sudra, who touched Brahmana Sutra, a religious work, should have his hands cut off and that if he saw it his eyes should be put out. True to the tradition of their forbears, the Brahmin of the present day, instead of urging on Government the diffusion of agricultural, technical and industrial education, advocated higher education, with the selfish view of appropriating to themselves the official loaves and fishes.

Mr. Mohammed Ali also supported the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

REFORMS

IV. This Conference, while thanking the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu and the British Cabinet for the announcement made that the policy of Government was that of increasing association of Indians with every branch of the administration and strong development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire, suggests, as a first step in that direction, that the strength of the Madras Provincial Legislative Council should be so enlarged as to provide due representation to all communities and interests, regard being had to (a) the strength of the several communities, (b) the aggregate taxes paid by them, and (c) the extent of property owned by them, and may be fixed at 125. This Conference also declares that, in view of the fact that power and influence are at present chiefly centred in a single community and that the other communities have only a

slender chance of securing due representation in the councils, unless proper safeguards are provided, and in view also of the fact that in the near future the powers of the councils are expected to be enhanced, that any scheme of reform, either of the councils of the country or the public services, in which due and adequate representation is not provided for the large non-Brahmin communities of this province on the three bases above mentioned, is bound to result in failure and consequent discontent and disharmony.

This Conference, therefore, strongly recommends the adoption of the following scheme of reform.

[N. B. The scheme is substantially the same as that formulated at the Bikkavole Conference.]

Mr. V. M. Kalayanasundaram Pillai.

Mr. V. M. Kalyanasundaram Pillai of Tinnevelly, in moving the above resolution, availed himself of the opportunity to reply to a few of Mr. Norton's observations. He said :—

No doubt, Mr. Norton had given much advice and wished them to be united. They were all of the same opinion. They were also very grateful to Mr. Norton for telling them so very candidly what they should do. But Mr. Norton laboured under two misapprehensions. Though he told them what they ought to do, he was not aware of what they were doing. Their draft resolutions had unfortunately not been put into Mr. Norton's hands before he stood up to speak. Mr. Norton was under the impression that the Non-Brahmin Movement was entirely an anti-Home Rule Movement. Probably he had come to the Conference with that impression, from what he heard from outside, from rumours which had been set afloat for a mischievous purpose. Otherwise, there was no necessity for such an exhortation. The other misapprehension of Mr. Norton was that he had not properly gauged the attitude of the Brahmins towards non Brahmins. No doubt Mr Norton was in Madras long ago. Times had now changed and the Brahmins had secured more power and their attitude had also correspondingly changed. He was not speaking out of antagonism to the Brahmins, but he must say that the attitude of the Brahmin had quite changed. Take, for instance, the way in which they were diverting the funds belonging to the public for their own particular aims and

objects and for the establishment of institutions beneficial to Brahmins alone. Then, take the Varnashrama movement. If the Brahmins were generous and kind-hearted, what was the necessity for a movement of this kind. He denied there was any antagonism in the Non-Brahmin Movement. That movement was intended to improve themselves and ameliorate their condition.

The resolution was further supported by Mr. S. K. Shunmugam Pillai and by Mr. Tulasiram and carried unanimously.

PUBLIC SERVICES

V. The Conference, while noting with satisfaction the recommendation of the majority of the Public Service Commission, prays that communal interests should be consulted in filling up the appointments of all grades in all services.

This resolution was fully discussed and carried without dissent.

SALT

VI. This Conference views with alarm the modified excise system lately introduced by the Commissioner of Salt, as it handicaps the manufacturers in more than one way, and prays for the restoration of the old system.

This resolution was moved by Mr. P. Sriman Kanthimathinatha Pillai, and Mr. Tulasiram explained the evils of the existing system. It was carried.

NADARS AND HINDU TEMPLES

VII. This Conference is of opinion that Hindu Nadars should be allowed at least as much liberty of access into the temples as other religionists enjoy.

Mr. M. T. Subrahmania Mudaliar of Uttamapalayam, in moving this resolution, said :—

This step was supported by tradition, as for instance by the institution and worship of Aruvathimuvar, the 63 Saiva Saints, among whom were some belonging to the lower castes. The Nadars were regarded as of low caste, as they followed the profession of toddy-tapping which was detrimental to public interests. At the present day, even Brahmins and other castes dealt in liquor and did not suffer any disabilities on that account. If Christian Nadars could go into Hindu temples, it was hard lines that a Hindu Nadar could not claim the same privilege.

Mr. J. N. Ramanathan of Madras supported the resolution in a powerful speech.

The resolution, having been also supported by Mr K. M. Subramania Pillai of Palghat, was passed unanimously.

Other resolutions were then passed regarding the education of the poor non-Brahmin boys, the interned Muslims, &c.

A Non-Brahmin Confederation

Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti then announced that it was proposed to hold a Non-Brahmin Confederation at Madras on the 28th and 29th Dec., and appealed for support for the Movement. He also pleaded for support for the three newspapers which championed their cause.

President's Concluding Speech

The President, in bringing the Conference to a close, said :—

"Gentlemen,—We have come to the end of our labours. I am grateful to you for the assistance you have rendered me throughout our deliberations, I am particularly gratified to think of not only the earnestness but also of the good sense which has inspired all our discussions. We have rightly laid emphasis upon education, which is the lever for uplifting our community and securing for it the place which, on account of its wealth-producing capacity, it deserves. The time has come for candid talk and firm action. High-sounding speeches will not avail us. We must leave that part to our Brahmin friends. Our first object must be to spread education through all classes and strive to attain a fair proportion in the public services and the various professions. Now, Gentlemen, let us organise ourselves. Let there be well concerted action. Let me remind you of the danger of having too many leaders. Let there not be un-co-ordinate action on the part of individuals. If we want our strength to be felt, then let us remember the old and useful saying that " union is strength." Let us sink all little differences. There is a joy in co-operation, which mere individual action cannot give. Gentlemen, I will not take up more of your time. I thank you for the honour you have done me in making me your President and for the hospitality you have

extended to us who have come from Madras. I also thank you for the indulgence with which you have heard me throughout. We all trust that the Non-Brahmin Movement will henceforth forge ahead with increased energy by the impetus given to it by this Conference. I now declare the Conference closed."

The Conference terminated with the usual votes of thanks and with three cheers for H. M. the King Emperor.

A Procession

After the Conference, the President and the Madras delegates were taken in procession through the car streets of Tinnevelly, followed by all the delegates and a large crowd of non-Brahmins. The procession was headed by a band and the President was lustily cheered all along the route.

The success of the Conference was largely due to the organising capacity of Mr. Nelliappa Pillai, the Secretary, and to the Zamindar of Singampatti, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, who was a host in himself and who left no stone unturned to make the Conference a success.

The dissentients amongst the non-Brahmins, under the auspices of the Madras Presidency Association, held a Conference on 10th December, 1917, at Tinnevelly, under the presidentship of Mr. George Joseph, Bar-at-Law. This Conference, engineered chiefly by the Brahmins, like the one held at Bezwada along with the Non-Brahmin Leaders' Conference, was a poor show.

Non-Brahmin Conference at Salem.

(8th December, 1917.)

The following are extracts from the presidential address by K. S. Dora Rajah of Pudukottah, at the Non-Brahmin Conference, which opened at Salem on 8th December, 1917.

Presidential Address

"Why are we here? What do we, non-Brahmins, want? What are we after? In the resolutions that will be submitted for your consideration there are some which state our wants, there are others which represent our views and our attitude towards the present political agitation in the land.

" Now, I shall first deal with the cry of Home Rule started by some ambitious reactionaries. I may, at the outset, state for your information that the majority of our countrymen are rightly against this demand of a section of the educated few. This movement, as we all know, has been engineered by our Brahmin friends, with a not unnatural view that Home Rule would be granted at once and they will be rulers of India and that they could thereby domineer over the rest. Well, gentlemen, we have had the experience of that form of Government in the past. We were treated then, as you are even now in these days of enlightenment treated, as much below them: our shadow should not fall on them, when they, the divine Brahmins, take their food. We are made to work for them in various ways. We have been styled the Sudras. We were purposely kept in abject social slavery. We were given no education worth the name. In many other ways we were treated badly; but, thanks to the British Government, we are now coming up. In their eyes all classes and creeds are the same. They have held the scales even between class and class. Surely, gentlemen, you do not like to come once again under Brahmin tyranny, under shelter this time of a nominal British suzerainty, but to be really ruled by them and to be ordered about by them. That will surely be the result if you agree to the demand of the Home Rule Party. When I speak of the Brahmin tyranny, do not think I speak of individuals amongst Brahmins, for there are honourable exceptions. I speak of them as vehicles of the communal consciousness of Brahmins.



PRINCE K. S. DORA RAJAH OF PUDUKOTTAH
President, Salem Conference.

"The Home Rule Party says it would be satisfied if the emands made by 19 Hon. Members of the Imperial Legislative Council are immediately granted. May I say further that these demands are the outcome of the joint deliberations of the All-India Congress and the All-India Muslim League. We are advised, mind you the advice is quite unasked for, to fall in with their views, because they say, "When such big institutions as the Congress and the All-India Muslim League tell you the demands made by the nineteen are the irreducible minimum, why do you object. What do you know about them? Blindly follow us." I for one would certainly follow their creed, if it had the sanction of all India, not that of a microscopic minority—the Brahmins—and had been approved of by such great men as the late Mr. Gokhale, the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir S. P. Sinha, Dr. T. M. Nair, to mention only a few. What the creed of the Congress was, until it was captured by Mrs. Besant last year, he that runs may read. I do not propose to give you the origin of this Home Rule Movement, for it has been shown over and over again by our eminent leaders, Dr. T. M. Nair and Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chettiar, and by other minds on the platform and in the press, why this cry for the moon, the Home Rule Movement, was started and what its object is.

"If the Home Rulers get what they want, we, non-Brahmins, will be where we are and not a whit better, if not worse. Secondly, with the power of the purse in the hands of the Brahmin majority in the councils, and with Brahmin officials in the majority in all departments of Government, the result can be better imagined than described. If such a state of things should come to be our lot—which God forbid—the best thing I would advise you to do is to emigrate from this land of ours and found a new colony where you could have peace and freedom. Apart from this, it has been conclusively proved by Dr. T. M. Nair, in his, "Political Reconstruction in India" and in his lecture "Our Immediate Political Outlook," how impracticable are the demands of the 19 Hon. Members His arguments are, in my humble opinion, as sound as they are incontrovertible. So far as I know, they have not been satisfactorily refuted.

"The next question is, are we prepared for Home Ruleat present? I answer emphatically no. The essence of Home Rule is the parliamentary form of Government. The essence of the parliamentary form of Government in the using of the franchise wisely. The using of the franchise wisely should

emanate out of a proper understanding of our wants and of what takes place in other countries. What is the magician's wand that could bring about all this and more? It is education. Unless and until the masses, the dumb millions of India, are educated and until you become united, you cannot have Home Rule or self-government by one stroke of the pen. Secondly, there should be communal representation in all the Legislative Assemblies and other bodies, so that every community might have its representatives in them to safeguard and look after its interests. I shall have occasion to deal with them later on. But, gentlemen, when I say we are not fit for Home Rule at present, do not please think that I am against the grant of reforms to India, On the contrary, I think the time is one for the next instalments of reforms, for you will remember the first instalment was given in 1909.

"We, non-Brahmins, have had up to now no organisation of our own. We have always depended on our Brahmin friends—with what result you all know. They have gone up kicking aside the ladder by which they ascended to power, and we, their supporters, have gone down. All the benefactors of Southern India were non-Brahmins. We finance the Government, and they get the benefit We pay for the maintenance of all charitable institutions, and they lord it over us there also. What is the cause of this deplorable state of affairs, gentlemen? Do you not think it is all due to want of an organisation to voice our views and demands and to safeguard our interests?

"Thanks to the unselfish and disinterested action of our leaders, Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chettiar and Dr. T. M. Nair, whom we have the honour to welcome to day, this desideratum has been remedied by the starting of the South Indian Peoples' Association at Madras and its political counterpart, the South Indian Liberal Federation We cannot sufficiently thank them for this. They have given freely and ungrudgingly their time and talents for our regeneration. They have braved calumny and curses. They have opened our eyes. I have yet to see more enthusiastic men than our two leaders. On behalf of the non-Brahmins of this district, I thank you, sirs, for poineering our movement and for the trouble you have taken to come over here, thus evincing your sympathy in our cause. This is one more proof, if any proof were needed, of the paternal care you take of us non-Brahmins. May you live long to guide us, is the fervent and sincere prayer of not only all those that are present here but also of our brtehren elsewhere.

"Our immediate want is education, free compulsory primary education for the masses. It must be education such as will fit them for playing their part as citizens wisely and unselfishly. When we approach the Government, we are told there is no money. The Government must find the money for it. The blame, Gentlemen, is not all on the Government side. We are equally to blame. Please remember that mere literary education is not enough. In my opinion, higher education has been over-done. We must have agricultural colleges in each district, where the agricultural population, who are the mainstay in every country, should be initiated in the mysteries of modern agricultural methods of cultivation. When all these have been accomplished and when our women are sufficiently educated, it will be time to think of and achieve self-government within the Empire.

"You would naturally like to know what our political creed should be. It is, in the words of the South Indian Liberal Federation :—"The members of the Liberal Federation are averse to any violent and sudden constitutional changes which impair the authority of the British Government, to which they look for holding the scales even between class and class. They are, however, strongly in favour of progressive political development of a well defined policy of trust in the people, qualified by prudence, and of timely and liberal concessions in the wake of proved fitness The time for the grant of complete self-government to India has not yet come This is a time for preparation to attain to that goal. No intermediate step that is taken with a view to reaching the final goal will be acceptable to the members of the Federation, which does not secure complete representation to the different communities that constitute the population of this presidency in proportion to their numerical strength and stake in this country." No better language could have been used to express our general attitude in politics. I am in favour of gradual progressive political development, and so are you, I trust. We want that all communities should be adequately represented and that the interests of minorities should be sufficiently safeguarded.

"Communal representation does not find favour with Home Rule friends. Mrs. Besant, the mother of the Home Rule League, is against it. One of the joint secretaries of the Congress, Mr. N. Subba Rao is against it. As I have already said, we have experience, bitter experience, of elections in the past. With

Brahmin influence everywhere, in public service and private life, what could you expect? They will be returned in overwhelming majority, while we, the n n-Brahmins, will be chewing the cud of misery as at present. I venture to place before you my humble suggestion with regard to the lines on which political reconstruction may in the present state of the country be safely undertaken.

1. The Imperial Legislative Council should be enlarged, provision being made for representation of all communities and interests, the interests of the minorities being also sufficiently safeguarded.

2. There should at least be three non-official nominated Indians on the Viceroy's Executive Council, two of them being non-Brahmins and each presidency to be represented by rotation.

3 As foreshadowed in the Government of India's despatch dated the 25th August, 1911, Provincial Government should be made autonomous so far as some subjects are concerned.

4. In the Madras Executive Council, no less than one half should be nominated non-official Indians, two of them being non-Brahmins.

5 All Provincial Legislative Councils in India should be enlarged on as broad a franchise as possible, having a substantial majority of elected representatives, the various communities in the country being adequately represented by separate communal representation and minorities being properly safeguarded

I would reconstitute the Madras Legislative Council thus:—Instead of 48 members as at present, I would make it to consist of 125, 90 being elected and 25 nominated, of officials and non-officials (10 non official and 25 official). The 90 elective seats may be distributed as under;—

Non-Brahmin Hindus	(Population 35,496,12 :)...	35
Brahmins	(do 1.310 360)...	5
Indian Christians	do. 1,117,582)...	5
Mohammadans	(do 2,740,408) ..	10
SPECIAL INTERESTS		
Zamindars	... ...	6
Landholders	.. ..	6
Agriculturists, other than zamindars and landholders	... ...	6

Anglo-Indians	...	...	...	...	2
Indian Merchants ...		...	...	...	5
Madras Chamber of Commerce			...	...	2
Madras Race Association	...		...	...	2
European Planters ...		...	...	...	2
Factory Owners	...	...	...	...	2
University	...	...		...	1
Corporation	...	...	...	...	1
			Total	...	90

When, after elections for non-Brahmins seats are all completed, it is found that any non-Brahmin community, consisting of a population of a million or over, is left without a representative on the council, H. E the Governor shall nominate one or more representatives of that community according to its numerical strength. His Excellency may also nominate representatives of interests which, he considers, are left unrepresented in the council.

(6) It is advisable to transfer certain selected departments of Government to the control of the Legislative Council. Resolutions of such Councils regarding those departments shall be binding on the Government and such departments should be financed by definite grants or assigned revenues. Suppose, for example, the Local Self-Government Department is handed over to the non-official members. The 100 non-official members of the Legislative Council without the 25 officials will meet by themselves under a chairman elected from among them. The Executive Council member in charge of this particular department wfll attend and take part in this meeting, and all the subjects connected with this department will be transacted by the council thus sitting. If necessary, a small Executive Committee for the transferred department may be associated with the Executive Council member in transacting the details of the transferred department, and, in case of any acute difference of opinion between the portfolio member and the members of the Executive Committee, the question will be referred to the Council and decided by it. In a similar manner any other department that is transferred to the non-officials will be dealt with. The departments, which are not thus transferred, as well as legislation, will be conducted by the Legislative Council sitting as a whole, including officials, H. E. the Governor presiding.

7. Commissions in the army should be thrown open to Indians in general and in particular to the scions of ruling and noble families.

8. The system of enlistment recently adopted under the Indian Defence Force Act should be made permanent.

9 No racial distinction should be made in the matter of the right to carry arms.

10. A full measure of local self-government should be immediately granted under such safeguards as may be found necessary for its efficient working.

11. In any reconstitution of the Empire after the war, India should be given a place similar to that of the self-governing colonies. If a special Imperial Parliament is to be created to deal exclusively with Imperial affairs, India should be directly represented in that Parliament. If, on the other hand, the existing arrangement continues and the British Parliament controls the internal administration of India, then the salary of the Secretary of State for India, like that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, should be placed on the British estimates, so that there may be opportunity for a fuller consideration of Indian policy in Parliament from time to time.

"You will see, Gentlemen, the only difference between the Home Rule scheme and this scheme is as regards the pace, the question of communal representation and the seat of ultimate authority in the country. Whereas the Home Rulers would like to take a big jump into the unknown, we would go on cautiously, but progressively, like a wise statesman feeling his way at each step, so that he may not be retarded in his onward progress."

THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATION

ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

(22nd December, 1927.)

The Annual Conference of the Madras Presidency Association, whose avowed creed was to support the Congress-League scheme of reforms, subject to communal representation, was held on Saturday, 22nd December, 1917, in a pavilion in Patter's Gardens, Royapettah. The gathering was of those who acknowledged allegiance to the Congress-League Scheme. Among those present on the platform were the Hon'ble the Rajah of Ramnad, Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, Mr. Salla Guruswami Chetti, Mr. S. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. R. S. Naidu, Mr. Koti Reddi, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar and Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer.

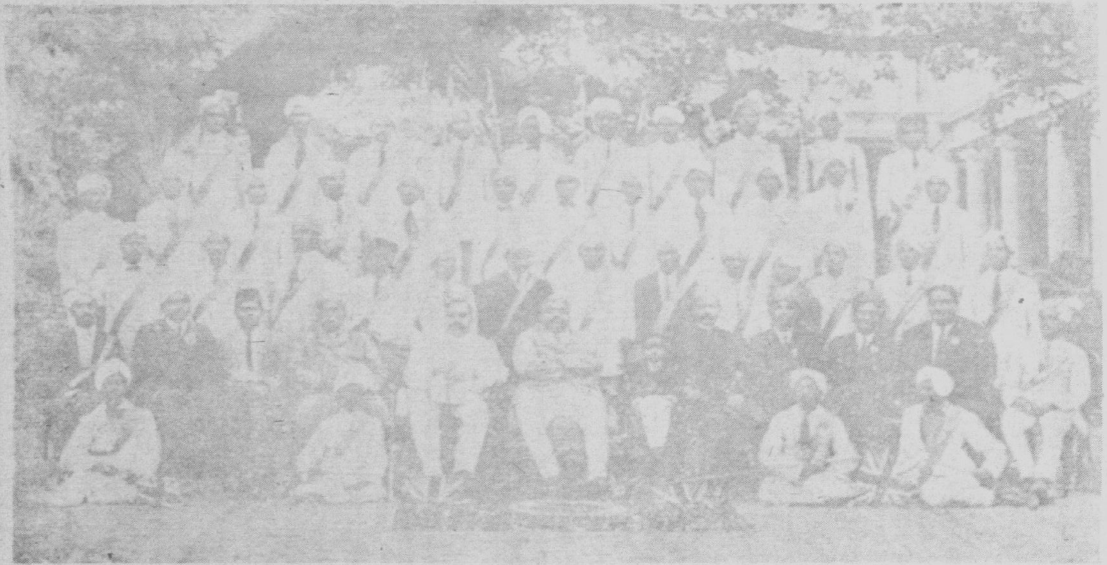
Mr. Lodd Govinda Doss was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the Hon'ble Mr. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar was the President.

The First Confederation, Madras

(28th and 29th December, 1917.)

The first session of the Non-Brahmin Confederation commenced its sitting at 12 noon on 28th December 1928 in the Wellington Theatre, Mount Road, Madras. There were over 500 delegates and a large number of visitors, and among those present on the dais were.—

The Honourable Mr. Gordon Fraser
Mr. W. A. Beardsell
Mr. J. W. Crusha
The Honourable The Rajah of Ramnad
The Honourable Muppil Nair
The Rajah of Pittapuram
The Zamindar of Singampatti
The Zamindar of Telaprole
The Zamindar of Mirzapuram
The Zamindar of Doddappanayakanur
The Zamindar of Uttukuli
The Zamindar of Elavarasendal
The Kumara Rajah of Challapalli
Prince K. S Dorairaja of Pudukota
Dewan Bahadur P. Rajaratna Mudaliar, C. I. E
Dewan Bahadur A. Subbarayalu Reddiar
Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti
Rao Bahadur T. Balaji Rao Naidu
Rao Bahadur M. G. Arogiasami Pillai
Rao Bahadur R. Venkataratnam Naidu
Rao Bahadur G. Narayanasami Chetti,
Rao Bahadur K. Venkata Reddi Naidu
Dr. T. M. Nair
Mr. P. Ramarayaningar
Mr. A. E. Rencontre
Professor J. B. Raju
Dr. Zainulabdin Saib
Mr. T. Ethiraja Mudaliar
Mr. S. V. Ramaswami Mudaliar
Mr. P. Somasundaram Pillai
Mr. V. Tirumalai Pillai
Mr. P. M. Sivagnana Mudaliar
Mr. Maruthamuthu Moopanar



FIRST NON-BRAHMIN CONFEDERATION

Seated-From Left to Right:—Mr. T. Arumuka Mudaliar, B. A., Mr. T. Sundara Rau Naidu, B. A., B. L., Captain of the Volunteers, Mr. Elaya Nair of Kavalappara. Mr. P. Narayanasami Mudaliar, Secretary, Dr. T. M. Nair, M. D., Raja of Venkatagiri, President, Son of the Raja of Venkatagiri, Dewan Bahadur P. Ramarayaningar, M.A., F.M.U., Prince K. S. Dorai Rajah of Pudukottah, B. A., Secretary, The Hon'ble Mr. Moopil Nair of Kavalappara, Zemindar of Telaprole and Mr. C. Annamalai.

Mr. P. Ramanadhan
Mr. S. P. Shanmugam Pillai
Mr. O. Thanikachalam Chetti
Mr. L. K. Tulsiram
Mr. P. V. Dorasami Mudaliar
Mr. Adinarayana Reddi
Mr. A C. Parthasaradhi Naidu
Mrs. Alamelu Mangathayar Ammal
Miss O. Jivarathnam
Mr. E. F. Greatorex
Mr. K. Subba Reddi
Mr. P. N. Raman Pillai
Mr. Mahomed Usman Saib
Mr. T. A Ramalingam Chetti
Mr. T. Srinivasa Mudaliar
Mr. M. Govindarajulu Naidu
Mr. P. Doraisami Naidu

The Rajah of Venkatagiri, the President-elect, was conducted in procession to his seat, to the strains of an Indian band, and was accorded an enthusiastic welcome.

FIRST DAY

Rao Bahadur P. Theagaraya Chetti, Chairman of the Reception Committee, having expressed his inability to read the address owing to indisposition, it was read for him by Mr. Thirumalai Pillai.

Welcome Address

"Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—On behalf of the South Indian Liberal Federation, under whose auspices we are met to-day, I welcome you all to this Confederation of the Non-Brahmins of this Presidency. It is now one year complete since the Non-Brahmin Manifesto was issued, and it has been thought advisable to convene this Confederation, so that the leading members of the non-Brahmin community may meet in a central place and exchange thoughts, with a view to arrive at some definite ideas, with which to go forward, with determination renewed and energy increased.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE S. I. P. A. AND THE S. I. L F.

"A short account of the origin and progress of the South Indian Peoples' Association and its associate, the South Indian Liberal Federation, may not be altogether inappropriate as a preface to the observations which I propose to make in welcoming you to this Confederation. For several years past the feeling was gaining ground that the interests

of the non-Brahmin community were left uncared for, not only by the Press, but also by the Government and its officials. The feeling was intensified by the Indian Press beginning to attack the Government whenever any preferment was conferred upon a non-Brahmin. You all remember tne vulgar attack of the "Hindu" on the Maharaja of Bobbili, when he was appointed the first Indian Executive Councillor of Madras, and subsequently, on the Raja of Bobbili, when he was nominated a member of the Madras Legislative Council. Every true non-Brahmin felt that this sort of nonsense should be put an end to, and there was a cry heard on all sides for action of some kind. A meeting of the leaders of the non-Brahmin community was convened in November last for considering what measures should be adopted to check the growing evil, and it was resolved that an association of non-Brahmin Hindus be formed, under the name of the South Indian Peoples' Association, with a capital of a lakh of rupees, for starting and conducting English and Vernacular journals, which will voice the grievances of the non-Brahmin community and advocate its claims. Just a year back, as I have said, a Manifesto was issued, surveying the condition of the non-Brahmins and pointing out the directions of advance. The work of collecting shares commenced immediately after, and the South Indian Peoples' Association was registered on 29th January, 1917.

"A printing press was purchased, and the first issue of 'Justice,' the organ of the Association, appeared on the 26th of February. A few months after, a Tamil daily was started under the title of 'Dravidan.' This was followed immediately after by 'Andhraprakasika.' Thus, within the space of ten months, three dailies have been started off on their career. What work these journals have been doing and how far they have served their purpose during the short period since their commencement, it is not for me to say, but it is for you to judge. The South Indian Liberal Federation, though formed in December last, began its work only in August, and during the four months of its existence, Non-Brahmin District Conferences have been held at Coimbatore, Biccavole and Pulivendla, and Group Conferences have been held at Bezwada and Tinnevelly respectively, the former representing the six coast districts of Northern Circars and the latter the districts of Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelly. Rarely three weeks have passed since a Conference was held in Salem. These Conferences serve as mile-stones marking the several stages in the progress of the Non-Brahmin Movement. Not a few have been the obstacles it has had to

encounter on its journey; but it must be confessed that in surmounting them the movement has gained, rather than lost, strength, thanks to the misrepresentations, vituperation and calumny, to which it has been subjected by our Brahmin friends, and their allies, the "real" non-Brahmins. Thanks are particularly due to my worthy friend, Dewan Bahadur Kesava Pillai, who, while professing ardent sympathy with us at the beginning, grew more and more virulent in his opposition and spared the use of no weapon of attack as he saw the movement growing in strength and popularity from day to day. We are glad to think that, within the short time of its existence, the South Indian Peoples' Association has helped to create a spirit of inquiry in the minds of all, which is a sure indication that the non-Brahmin community has awakened from its age-long lethargy and begun to study its present condition, with reference to the causes which have brought it about and the measures to be adopted for securing permanent progress.

OUR CRITICS AND OUR AIMS

"One way in which our Brahmin friends and their non-Brahmin allies under the leadership of Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai have tried to discredit us is to represent us as reactionaries and as opposed to a l progress. It is difficult to think what our friends mean by all that they say in this respect. Our aims are enunciated in our manifesto. Our creed is not a secret mantram; it is as plain as plain can be. It is a statement available to all, which he who runs may read. It is true we have said that we are opposed to violent changes in the administration of the country, that we are against the concentration of administrative power in the hands of an oligarchy, against all attempts to make the character of the Government un-British, against taking mean advantage of the present difficult position of the Government, wresting powers and privileges which we dare not ask for in ordinary times, knowing full well how ill-prepared the country is to wield them with advantage to itself. But we have made it plain that we do want a steady and sure advancement in political life, that more freedom should be given to Local Funds Boards and Municipal Councils, so that, untrammelled by official interference, the people may administer their own local affairs, that the Legislative Councils should be made more really representative of the people, by the principles of direct representation and communal representation being given full effect to, that real and complete

control of a few branches of administration should be vested in the hands of the peoples' representatives, so that through these departments they may learn the art of responsible government, that facilities should be provided for free and compulsory primary education, for agricultural education and for an education which will fit its recipients for advancement in trade and industries. All this we have advocated in our newspapers, and yet our Brahmin friends accuse us of obstructing progress. They call us reactionaries, unpatriotic, because we oppose the immediate grant of Home Rule, which will and must spell disaster. We are not mere visionaries, we are practical men, with aspirations and hopes, which run close to our capacity to work satisfactorily any privilege that may be bestowed upon us. We are not bookworms and theorists to preach shibboleths which will merely confound the minds of the people, especially of young men, and make them uncontrollable. We do not care to create false hopes and instil false ideas in the minds of the people. We do not care to get signatures for monster petitions, the purport and tendency of which even educated men fail to understand, in order to trick the Government and the Secretary of State into the belief that a million signatures mean a million persons at least who want immediate Home Rule. We are men of the world, we move with all classes of people, we know their real feelings and aspirations because we are part of them. We have a stake in the land we live in, and we know what violent agitation will mean to us and to our children. Why, we observe today the consequences of violent changes in Europe among people who are better educated than we are.

"I need not go further, but let it suffice to say that we are prepared for any kind of attack, provided clean and honest weapons are used as in a fight between gentlemen and gentlemen.

"We have been engaged for the past few months in the struggle with Home Rulers. We had the Brahmin Press, English, Tamil and Telugu, attacking us on every side. Unworthy motives were attributed to us in the Press, on the platform and in private conversation. We were supposed to be mercenaries enjoying Government pay for what we did and were expected to do. We have been called disappointed place-hunters and title-hunters. You all know how the Madras Government was interpellated as to the amount of subsidy supposed to be paid to us. All this calumny, I am glad to say, we have survived. But it is time, now that the



THE RAJAH OF VENKATAGIRI,
President, First Non-Brahmin
Confederation.

work of establishing ourselves has been done to some effect, that we should begin to do some constructive work. Mr. Montagu has come and gone, and whatever the results of his visit may be, I believe, there is no use of our Brahmin friends any longer persisting in creating dissensions amongst us. At least I do not see any purpose in their keeping up the show. It is my ardent wish that we non-Brahmins should bury our differences and forget our misunderstandings and should work with a united will amongst ourselves for our betterment. Our educational average is lower than that of our Brahmin friends. I mean, bulk for bulk, there is less education amongst us than among them. We are also much inferior as agriculturists to agriculturists in other parts of the world. In the industrial and commercial world we are nowhere. Science and arts are not cultivated amongst us. Ship-building is a forgotten art. In public bodies and in public service we occupy the back seats. The power our Brahmin friends wield over us as lawyers and as officials is enormous. These are matters to which we have to direct our attention.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

"Let me now say a few words on education. It is admitted on all sides that among all classes of the population, except the Brahmins, education is in a backward condition, and any uplifting of the people, especially of the submerged classes, is impossible without the extension of popular education. Until lately education meant higher education in English, and the greater part of the public money spent on education was spent on higher education, a very little proportion only going towards primary education, so much so that high schools and colleges sprang up on all sides, in which graduates were manufactured in thousands, while primary education was shamefully neglected. From the time of the East India Company several attempts have been made to advance primary education, but they have turned out to be mere pious wishes. Let me call your attention to the paragraph in the resolution of the Governor-General-in Council in 1904, twenty-two years after the Education Commission of 1882, which enunciated the importance of extending primary education in these words: " That, while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement to be that part of the educational

system, to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed." The paragraph I refer to is this: "On a general view of the question the Government of India cannot avoid the conclusion that primary education has hitherto received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of public funds. They consider that it possesses a strong claim upon the sympathy both of the Supreme Government and of the Local Government and should be made a leading charge upon the Provincial Revenues........... Nor has the rate of growth of primary schools kept pace with that of secondary schools, in which the number of scholars has considerably more than doubled during the last twenty years. It may be said that the extension of primary schools has received a check in recent years from the calamities of famine and plague, and 'it is further impeded by the indifference of the more advanced and ambitious classes to the spread of primary education'." It will thus be seen that both Nature and Man, Nature in the form of famine and pestilence and Man in the form of the advanced and ambitious classes, conspired together to check the growth of primary education, though the Government itself expressed a desire to work strenuously for its salvation and after twenty years was obliged to lament its failure. This is the position of primary education. But the position of higher and secondary education is comparatively bright. There is a cry everywhere and always for the extension of higher education, and sufficient funds are always available for its encouragement, not only from Government, but also from District Boards, Municipal and Devasthanam Funds. The University encourages Sanskrit language as against the living vernaculars of the masses, and Chathram funds, endowments of Dravidians, are available for the encouragement of a dead Aryan language; but for primary education, which is of such real importance to the people, money cannot be found. Time has come for a change of the policy of the State in this respect, and it is our duty to agitate and agitate until the existing proportion is reversed and the masses are educated and brought up to the level of the people of Europe, America and Japan.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

"Next in importance to primary education is agricultural education. We have an agricultural college in Coimbatore and there is the Pusa Institute. There are agricultural chemists, botanists, entomologists, and any number of such experts, but all their labours seem to bear no fruit in improving the agriculture of the country. Every year

conferences are held of agricultural scientists, at which there is plenty of exchange of ideas and plenty of resolutions passed. Agricultural bulletins are published in English. They make good reading no doubt for highly educated men, but of what use are they for agriculturists? Unless our peasants are educated, at least in their vernaculars, unless the bulletins are published in vernacular languages understood by the people, unless demonstration farms are established, one at least in each taluq, unless itinerant demonstrators go round to villages and convince the ryots of the advantages of improved methods of agriculture, unless the co-operative system is spread among the ryot population, unless money is made available at reasonable rates of interest for the purchase of seed grain and manure, for the payment of wages and of Government kist and for purchase of cattle and agricultural implements and for improvements, and unless village schools undertake to teach improved agriculture and thus create in the minds of the rising generation a love of improved methods, no advance of any kind can be expected. And it is in this direction that we have to work.

INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Coming to industrial and technical education, there is no such thing as education suitable to the development of industries. The present system of education is fitted to make automatic quill-drivers, indifferent school-masters and petti-fogging lawyers. During the great world-war now raging, all countries are adjusting themselves to the manufacture of human requirements, except India. America and Japan are invading India with their industrial products, whereas India, with all the raw products produced in the country, has not moved an inch. Why is this so? In British India, with a population of 255 millions, the universities have 36 thousand students pursuing a literary course, while only 12 thousand pupils study in technical schools, which teach mostly type-writing, book-keeping, shorthand, etc. Japan, on the other hand, with a population of 51 millions, has only 7500 students pursuing a literary course in its universities, whereas 290,000 pupils attend technical schools It is no wonder, therefore, that Japan has dumped her goods in India during the last three years, while India is still contemplating what is to be done after the war Perhaps, by the time the war closes, India will be completely captured by Japan, I mean in the commercial sense. How we could escape from this commercial conquest and achieve our commercial independence is a matter which requires our urgent atttention.

PUBLIC BODIES AND PUBLIC SERVICE

" You must have noticed that non-Brahmins are being gradually ousted from all public bodies, such as Municipalities, Local Fund Boards and Legislative Councils. If the lethargy and indifference of the non-Brahmins continues a few years longer, they will be clean wiped out of existence so far as these assemblies are concerned. An examination of the Public Service discloses a similar state of affairs, though competent men among these communities are not wanting in any number. "Justice" has now and then been publishing statements showing the great disparity existing in the Service between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, and recently an interpellation in the local Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Thambi Marcair has thrown lurid light on this disparity as it exists in the Revenue and Administrative branches of Government in Madras City itself. A good deal has been said on this subject in the Press, and the majority report of the Public Services Commission has brought this matter forward and urged that the existing state of things ought to be remedied. This is also one of the subjects on which we have to keep up a vigorous and sustained agitation.

LITIGATION

"In my Presidential Address at the Bezwada Conference I had an opportunity of dilating upon the growing evils of litigation. I wish once again to impress on your minds the absolute necessity of abstaining from having recourse to courts of law, either civil or criminal, and of settling differences among yourselves with the help of elders. The Panchayat Bill is on the legislative anvil. Endeavours should be made to see that the wish of the people is respected by larger powers being given to Panchayats, so that litigation may be substantially minimised.

PUBLIC AND RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS

"The question of the management of public and religious endowments has of late assumed a serious aspect. Interested persons have taken to making serious allegations in public prints of mismanagement with regard to temples and other charities, too often is blackmail levied on managers and trustees of temples. "Scheme Suits" are concocted with the help of unknown and poverty-stricken worshippers serving as plaintiffs, though only in name, while in reality the parties, who start the suit, are Brahmins, trying to secure

occupation for themselves and for their fellows at the Bar and for their Madras friends. The so-called Dharma Rakshana Sabha is now playing a prominent part in "Scheme Suits" and the like. It will be interesting to know with regard to the several suits conducted by this Sabha for the "better management of Devasthanams" how many vakils were engaged on each side in every case, how much money was spent in litigation for the payment of vakils on both sides and other costs, how many cases were appealed against and with what results, and how many new managers, receivers, trustees, etc., were appointed and to what community or communities these belonged. It will also be very interesting to know how many Devasthanams, rich and poor, were exploited. An auditor of rich Devasthanam accounts once told me that a vakil of high repute was paid Rs. 18,000 in one year for legal advice; and a vakil friend of mine once complained that he himself collected materials and worked up a Zamindari case for three years together, and when the case was put into the hands of certain senior vakils, he was left in the lurch without even a junior brief. You will perhaps not be astonished to know that, in this particular litigation, the money spent on both sides amounted to more than eight lakhs of rupees. Don't you think it is our duty to see that money is not thus wasted and transferred from non-Brahmin hands to Brahmin pockets, money which could well be utilised for useful communal purposes?

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS UPLIFT

"The genius of Dravidian civilisation does not recognise difference between man and man by birth. The leaders of Dravidian thought, Thiruvalluvar, Avvai and Cumbar, do not claim to be born from the brain of the God-head. The Nayanars and Alvars do not claim greatness in virtue of birth. It is the Aryans who have introduced this birth distinction, which they have elaborated into the system of Varnashrama Dharma with its concomitant evils. It was that civilisation which brought about illiteracy in the country, the pedestal on which is erected the exclusive oligarchy of the Brahmins. Its tyranny naturally provoked a protest, if not a revolt. More than two thousand four hundred years ago, the Buddhist reformation sought to unify all classes, but the influence of Varnashrama Dharma was too strong. Ramanuja, though a Brahmin, tried to mitigate the rigours of the social and religious tyranny of the Brahmin priesthood and succeeded partially for some time. But in course of time his priesthood sank to the

level of the rest. Basavaiya made a similar attempt, which was attended with a similar result. Thus every successive attempt to put down the Brahminical tyranny ended in failure, so much so that the Brahminical influence grew stronger and stronger, with the result that they elaborated the present system of untouchableness and pollution. Thanks to the British Government, the times have changed, our Brahmin friends have given up their pious occupations and turned to worldliness. The great veneration in which the people held them for their piety, learning and austerity of life is now dying out, the great disillusionment has begun, and this is the most opportune moment for the social reformer to knock down all barriers of caste and to uplift the Depressed Classes.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which taken at the flood leads on to fortune:
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
On such a full sea are we now afloat,
And we must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures."

"I have indicated the various directions, in which we should endeavour to promote the welfare of the non-Brahmin community of this Presidency. In this endeavour it is my fervent hope that you will all co-operate with us, by means of advice, conceived in the interests of the movement, and not merely with a view to placate and please those who do not wish well of our movement, and by placing at our disposal your energies, your influence and your resources. Heavy are the odds which are arrayed against us, and boundless seem the sinews of war on which our opponents can draw. If we are to hold our own in this struggle and if we are to carry on constructive educational work, not only among the young, but also among the elders, who require to be educated with regard to all that concerns the welfare of the community, we require the sinews of war. With such practical co-operation on your part, it will be possible to hasten the day when every boy and girl born in our community will be educated, when every peasant will be the lord of his land, his hereditary knowledge of agriculture being supplemented by scientific methods and improved implements, so that, with heaven's blessing in the shape of timely rains, his lands may yield tenfold more than they do at present, and he and his family will have a full meal and his status in life will be

considerably raised; not only that, he will be able to produce bumper crops of commercial products, with which India can supply the requirements of other countries; when the industries of the country will be far advanced; when we shall all wear clothes of our own manufacture, use our own machinery in our workshops; when we shall have sailing vessels of our own made to carry our wares to foreign lands; when we shall have our railways and rolling stock manufactured with our own labour in our own country; when litigation will be reduced to a minimum and we shall be free from the tyranny of the lawyer; when we shall break off from the trammels of hereditary priesthood and put an end to Varnashrama Dharma, with its ethics of Sudra and untouchable, and men of all castes and creeds shall live as brothers, and form one nation. When this consummation is reached and the intermediate lessons learnt, self-Government in the real sense of the word will have become an accomplished fact, thanks to the guiding hand of British administrators and British statesmen.

OUR JOURNALS

"Before I conclude, I should like to give public expression to the gratitude which we all feel towards Dr. Nair for his brilliant services to the non-Brahmin community. He came to our relief when our Home Rule friends conspired to strangle our movement in its very inception. Before we started our paper, negotiations went on between us and Dewan Bahadur Karunakara Menon, and just six days before the date announced for issuing the journal 'Justice,' Mrs. Besant, Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer and our worthy friend, Dewan Bahadur Kesava Pillai, brought about a break in the negotiations, with the idea of leaving us without an editor. Providence evidently had foreseen this and placed on the Board of Directors one whose English education and his training as a political worker in the Liberal party of England, coupled with his journalistic experience and his masterly grasp of Indian questions, made him an invaluable asset to any cause which he espoused. No sooner was the announcement made at the meeting of Directors that Mr. Karunakara Menon had at the last moment refused to join us than Dr. Nair offered his services as an honorary editor, which the Directors were only too glad and thaukful to accept. May God give him health and strength to continue the noble work he is doing for us! Under his guidance we are already in sight of the promised land. May he be permitted to serve as our captain when we go forward on the work of conquest and occupation thereof. I must not omit to acknowledge the yeomen service rendered to our

cause by Mr. P. N. Raman Pillai, whose experience and ability as an Indian journalist is second to that of none in Madras. Our Tamil journal, "Dravidan," which is doing so much to open the eyes of our community to the disabilities and injustices to which they are subjected, is being edited by Mr. Bhaktavatsalam Pillai, B.A., assisted by an able staff of assistants, consisting of Swami Rudrakotiswara, Pandit Vilvapathy Chettiar and a few others. The Telugu journal, "Andhraprakasika," edited by our old friend and veteran journalist, Mr A C. Parthasarathy Naidu, with the help of his assistants, Messrs Ragaviah Nayudu and Narasimha Rao Naidu, is also trying to wean the Telugu public from the influence of Brahmins in the Northern Circars

"One remarkable feature of our movement is the number of honorary workers who give steady and valuable service from day to day in a most ungrudging and enthusiastic spirit Among these I would only mention Mr T. Singara Mudaliar and Mr P. Narayanswami Mudaliar, who, having retired from Municipal and Government services respectively, are devoting their whole time, the former to the supervision of the printing department and the latter to the secretarial work of the South Indian Liberal Federation. A movement, which is marked by such fraternal feeling amongst its members and such unselfish spirit, cannot, I venture to believe, but have the blessing of God resting upon it. Towards our non-Brahmin brethern in the Home Rule camp we have no feelings except those of sympathy and regret. They are our kinsmen and we look forward to the day when the claims of the community will assert themselves in their minds and they will be able to distinguish between friend and foe; and even towards the Brahmins we cherish no feeling of bitterness If we have to fight them, we do so in the interests of truth and justice, and we shall be prepared to extend to them also the right hand of fellowship, when they shall see the wrongs they have inflicted upon us and repent. Ours is essentially a movement of love and not of hate, of love based upon a sense of what is due to the various classes which constitute the population of this vast and ancient land. That this dreadful world-war that is being waged may come to a speedy termination to the glorious victory of the British and their allies is my earnest and fervent prayer to Almighty God. Our love and gratitude are particularly due to the British Government, both in England and in India, for the paternal care with which our interests are safeguarded and our prosperity advanced. Our King Emperor is engaged in a war, in which the interests of India are involved as much as

those of any other part of the British Empire. May he and his allies come out of this dreadful ordeal victorious, happy and glorious! May he reign long over us! God save the King-Emperor!"

The Zamindar of Elavarasendal then proposed the Rajah of Venkatagiri to the chair, and said that they were fortunate in securing the Rajah of Venkatagiri to preside over their deliberations.

The proposition having been seconded, the President was garlanded and installed in the presidential chair, amidst loud cheers.

Rao Bahadur G. Narayanasami Chetti then read some telegrams and letters, expressing sympathy with the Confederation.

The Presidential Address of the Rajah fo Venkatagiri was then read for him by the Kumararajah of Chellapalli.

Presidential Address

"Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you for electing me to the Presidentship of this great Non-Brahmin Confederation. I esteem it a high honour, which I hope to be able to deserve by my work for the noble cause which we have all at heart. You have heard from Mr. Theagaraya Chettiar just now that this is not only the first meeting of the Non-Brahmin Confederation, of the Madras Presidency, but it is also the first anniversary of the starting of the Non-Brahmin Movement. I remember, as if it were yesterday, the issue of the Non-Brahmin Manifesto on behalf of the South Indian Peoples' Association by Mr. Theagaraya Chettiar, exactly a year ago, and to-day we have before us the result of one year's work of the South Indian Peoples' Association The Chairman of the Reception Committee has just told you of the work that has been accomplished during the past year, and you will realise from that how important and how far-reaching have been the results achieved by this organisation representing the non-Brahmins of Southern India. Today no one can say that the interests of the non-Brahmin community are left uncared for. Both on the platform and in the press the non-Brahmins of this Presidency have made their voices heard.

A DEFENSIVE MOVEMENT

"Ours in essentially a defensive, movement. Our object s only to safeguard the interests of our community. There s nothing aggressive in our movement. If, at times, we have

had to take the offensive, it was simply on that well-known principle applicable to military operations when the safest method of defence is to adopt the offensive. The South Indian Peoples' Association and its younger brother, the South Indian Liberal Federation, have, even within the very short time that they have existed, carried enlightenment to many a non-Brahmin home in this Presidency and made the non-Brahmins realise what their rights are. Their good work must be continued in the future with redoubled vigour in enlightening every member of the great non-Brahmin community in this Presidency as to his social and political rights. We owe our liberation from the Brahminical yoke to the civilising influences of the British nation. We shall never again put our necks under the yoke of Varnasrami. For these blessings we are thankful to the British Government. But, unfortunately for us, new conditions have arisen, not of our own creation, which handicap us considerably in our political progress. Since the British Government have begun to concede to us gradually the boon of the franchise, we have begun to realise that the preponderance of Brahmins in the Public Service and the want of sufficient educational progress among the non-Brahmin community are standing in the way of our effective use of the franchise that is given to us. In a country like India, where Government officials wield enormous political power, the large preponderance of any one class among officials gives to that class an undue importance and influence. The following figures will give you an idea of what a commanding position the Brahmins have acquired in the Public Services :—

Departments.	Brahmins.	Non-Brahmin Hindus.	Maham-madans.	Indian Christians, Eurasians and Anglo-Indians.	Total.
Population.	1,166,695	36,063,339	2,764,467	1,208,515	41,870,160
Madras Provincial Civil Service, Executive branch	100	29	22	20	171
Members of the Subordinate Civil Service ...	165	89	12	7	273
Department of Revenue Settlement, Survey, Land Records and Agriculture	39	7	2	40	88
Forest Department	16	4	5	50	75
Customs Department	35	6	...	20	61
Salt, Abkari and Separate Revenue Departments	35	10	2	82	129
Posts and Telegraphs	25	16	7	56	104
Department of Fisheries	1	...	...	2	3
Finance Department	12	...	...	6	18
Judicial Department	190	35	6	46	277
Jail Department	1	...	...	20	21
Registration Department	16	1	4	3	24
Cantonment Magistrate	1	...	...	2	3
Police Department	28	16	9	90	143
Marine Department	...	...	...	14	14
Educational Department	396	18	28	73	515
Medical Department	134	51	10	133	328
Political Department	...	...	2	30	32
Stationery and Printing	...	...	...	5	5
Public Works Department	65	14	...	108	187
Local Fund Department	67	16	...	16	99
Miscellaneous	11	4	1	57	73

"And until and unless this inequality is redressed, non-Brahmins, in spite of their numerical superiority, cannot hope to derive any advantage from any political franchise that may be given to them.

NEGLECT OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

"Another cause, which has operated to the disadvantage of the non-Brahmin community, is the social injustice perpetrated by the Indian educational system. Mr Theagaraya Chettiar in his address has dealt at some length with the inequality in the support given by Government to primary and higher education. At every step the Government have laid emphasis on the fact that primary education is the chief object of the State. The importanee of primary education was pointed out in the Education Despatch of 1854. It was again emphasised in the report of the Education Commission of 1882. The Government of India Resolution of 1904 also laid down that primary education possessed a strong claim upon the sympathy, both of the Imperial and Provincial Governments, and should be made a leading charge on provincial revenues, and since 1904 hardly a Viceroy or a Provincial Governor has made an important political speech without referring to the claims of primary education, and yet in 1912, that is, when the last quinquennial review on education was published, out of the total expenditure of the Government of India on education of 5 million pounds a year, only about 1¼ million pounds, or one-fourth of the total expenditure on education, was allotted to primary education. In the face of the many and repeated declarations by Government that primary education possesses the first claim on public funds, that three times the sum that is expended on primary education is spent by Government on secondary and collegiate education speaks eloquently of how interested classes have been able to persuade Government to divert funds for higher education, while neglecting their first and supreme duty in the matter of the spread of primary education The classes in this Presidency, who have suffered by this neglect of primary education, belong to the non-Brahmin community While one out of every three Brahmin boys of school-going age is undergoing education in a primary school, it is only one out of nine non-Brahmin boys that is deriving the advantage of primary education I fail to see any justification for either of these two handicaps imposed on the non-Brahmin community. Although proportionately the non-Brahmins are less advanced in higher education than the Brahmins, yet

there are enough and more of competent non-Brahmin graduates at the present day who can fill all Government posts that the non-Brahmins are entitled to hold. As these two obstacles put in the way of the non-Brahmins are not of their creation, in all fairness Government ought not to make them suffer for the disabilities which Government have imposed on them.

POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION

"Over and above these two disabilities which the non-Brahmins are specially suffering from, there is another dfsadvantage which the people of this Presidency in general are placed under The system of local self-government in this country instituted by Lord Ripon 33 years ago has been so mismanaged by the undue interference of the Government at every step and with every detail that the development of a sense of responsibility, which we had a right to expect under a system of local self-government, has greatly been retarded, if not entirely stopped. And thus we find that at the present time the non-Brahmin communities have been placed in a position, through a combination of circumstances, mainly the creation of Government, most unfavourable for political advancement. They were, however, or at all events the best of them were, co-operating with the best of the Indian population in endeavouring to help in a process of gradual political progress. But, to their surprise, they found that a small section of the Indian population, mainly drawn from the Brahmin community, all of a sudden, developed a demand for the grant of Home Rule or Self-Government immediately after the war This preposterous claim was based on the fact that " in the reconstruction of the Empire lay India's opporunity of obtaining freedom." A general reconstruction should only be undertaken when there are reasons justifying such a reconstruction. The disorganisation of industries, the unemployment of men that is sure to result after the war, where a large conscription army was utilised, the heavy financial burdens which will want readjustment, the many defects in national defences disclosed by the war, defects in the system of education of the pre-war days, which have handicapped England in a war with a nation with perhaps the most perfected educational system in the world, were all conditions which called for readjustments which may necessitate some sort of political reconstructfon. But the conditions of India have not been adversely affected by the war to an extent which justifies a reconstruction. The only direction in which reconstruction was

expected to be necessary was in the way of finding India a place, and an honourable place, in the reconstructed British Empire. The great and honourable part taken by the British Colonies has naturally drawn them closer to the mother country than they ever were in times past, and the closer federation of the British Empire made it imperative that the place of India in that federation should be defined and determined. In a way, that question has already been settled by the generous manner in which representatives of India were permitted to take part in the Imperial Conference and the hearty reception they received at the hands of the representatives of the British Colonies. That concession augurs well for the future, and India's place as an equal of the other constituent parts of the British Empire is now assured. If the cry for reconstruction had been directed with a view to securing India her place in the federation of the British Empire, it would have been a justifiable cry of a non-controversial character, but the cry for Home Rule raised in the middle of the war was both untimely and premature. The last instalment of political reform that India received was in 1909, and the people of this country might well have waited till that reform had been tried at least for a decade before demanding the next instalment of reform. The result of the demand for political reforms by impatient idealists in the middle of a ruinous war may be the hastening of the next instalment of reforms, for, as the Secretary of State on behalf of the British Cabinet has announced in the House of Commons, the ultimate goal of British rule in India is the attainment of responsible government to be arrived at by successive, well-defined stages. I should be the last to stand in the way of the introduction of the first of these stages of reforms in the immediate future. As we have several stages to get through and as the way to the attainment of responsible government is long, I do not want any further delay in making a start. But, situated as we are at the present time, it would be unsafe to venture on our long political journey without taking adequate precautionary measures to prevent any calamities on the way.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

"I have already indicated the disabilities under which the non-Brahmin communities in this Presidency are suffering, and under those adverse circumstances they are likely to suffer considerable injustice, if, in the political reconstruction of the future, as in the reforms of the past, the franchise is not placed on a communal basis. The establishment of a

general territorial electorate, as is common in educated and homogeneous communities, would end in the non-Brahmin communities failing to secure their proper share of representation in the legislative assemblies of the future. Until they secure their proper share of public appointments and political influence and until they are educationally more advanced than they are at present, they cannot hope to secure proper representation, even though they are armed with the franchise. Illiteracy and long subjugation to official authority induce in them at the present time a fatal facility for yielding to official pressure. If the non-Brahmins are placed in a position, where, in spite of the possession of the franchise, they cannot secure their fair share of representation, the result will be that political power will pass into the hands of the extreme section of political agitators in this country. They are the people who are counting the days when they can free themselves of, to them, the incubus of British Government, and political reconstruction carried out on these lines at the present time would be tantamount to offering a premium to the development of anti-British feelings in this country; and to quote the words of Lord Islington: "If any British Government were to attempt such a task, were to allow themselves in a nervous spirit to act against their judgment and experience in the face of agitation, they would indeed betray the trust that has been imposed upon them." Political theorists may be troubled with the suspicion that communal representation is not in accordance with scientific theories of political reconstruction. Jean Jacques Rousseau in his "Contrat Social" says: "Before putting up a large building the architect observes and tests the soil in order to see if it can bear the weight. In the same way the wise lawgiver begins, not by drawing up the laws which are the best in themselves, but by examining whether the nation for which they are destined is capable of bearing them."

IDEALISTS AND THEIR FALLACIES

We do not want political theorists to try their experiments in India. Under the extraordinary and almost unique conditions of India we want statesmen who can frame a constitution suitable to our peculiar conditions. The political theorist is as dangerous as the political dreamer. Our friends, the Indian Home Rulers, are political dreamers. They have been at considerable pains to picture to the ignorant and credulous Indian people a future Indian Utopia, where India will be governed by Indians and where the

people will have to pay scarcely any taxes. They have hardly realised the fact that liberty produces excessive taxes. Baron De Montesquieu, the great French political philosopher, says that the largest amount of taxes are collected under democratic governments, that limited monarchies collect less taxes and that absolute monarchies least of all. They have also been attempting to prove that the poverty of India was the result of the exactions of a foreign Government. There are examples of small States, where the people pay no taxes at all, and yet extreme poverty prevails in those States. Poverty is not the result of over-taxation. It is the result of insufficient wealth production, and among the causes that operate in diminishing wealth production is the existenee of classes who will not work and whose felicity consists in idleness and who exist as human parasites. The existence of a class in our country who toil not, but who only pull the official wires from behind, is one of those causes standing in the way of wealth production. The peculiar line of reasoning by which these men have convinced themselves that Indian wealth is being drained away by the payment of the home charges is a good instance of the jumbling up of cause and effect. The home charges for the payment of pensions to officials, who have done long years of work in an unpleasant climate and have gone back home as used-up human beings, and payment of interest on borrowed capital and payment of materials purchased, are supposed to have been the main causes of the present unsatisfactory economic condition of the country. Perhaps, if the Indian Home Rulers get their own way, they might, like the Russian revolutionaries, repudiate the National Debt. The Indian Home Rulers have clearly demonstrated that they understand neither the theory nor the practice of Government. To entrust the destinies of this great country to such bungling amateurs would be a great disaster ; but we need have no such apprehension. When politicians of the Home Rule variety go about assuring the ignorant and the illiterate that they have already received assurances from the Viceroy or the Secretary of State that Home Rule would be granted at an early date, tell them that they are liars.

DON'T RELAX YOUR VIGILANCE

For the rest, you have to go on as you have been doing. The time has not come to relax your vigilance. Your political struggle has just begun. A few years is nothing in the history of nations. The result of your labours in securing the rights of your community may not be apparent in your

own lifetime, but if you yourselves do not live to reap the fruits of your stuggles against heavy odds, generations coming after you will live to "reach a hand through time to catch the far-off interest of tears."

A Telugu version of the presidential address was then read to the audience, after which the Subjects Committee was formed and the Conference rose for the day to meet the next day at 8 a m.

SECOND DAY

The Confederation resumed its sittings on 29th December, 1917, at 8-15 a. m., at the Wellington Theatre, with the Rajah of Venkatagiri in the chair.

Resolutions

LOYALTY

The following resolutions were put from the chair and carried with acclamation;—

This Confederation of the non-Brahmin communities of Southern India expresses its staunch and abiding loyalty to the British Crown, and prays for a speedy termination of the present war by a victorious triumph of the British arms.

This Confederation places on record its deep sense of gratitude to the British Government and the Government of India for so generously admitting Indians to the Councils of the Empire and to the commissioned ranks of the Indian army, and for forming the Indian Defence Force and promising to admit Indians to the Volunteer Corps.

PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL REFORM

Dr. T. M. Nair

Dr. T. M. Nair moved the following resolution;—

This Confederation, while thanking the Secretary of State for India and the British Cabinet for the announcement of policy made on the 20th August last, and while expressing its emphatic disapproval of catastrophic political changes tending to undermine British authority and influence in India, advocates the granting of progressive political reforms after the war, on the lines of the address presented to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India by the South Indian

Liberal Federation and the non-Brahmin communities of Southern India, with the enclosures thereto, which would constitute the next stage in the several well-defined stages by which this country is to attain responsible self-government.

He said, in the course of an eloquent address :—The people of India were under a deep debt of gratitude to the British Government, for announcing in the House of Commons, on 2nd August last, that the final goal of the British in India was to give responsible government to the country. The Right Hon. the Secretary of State had declared in unmistakable terms that the goal would be achieved by successive and defined stages. That declaration was, indeed, in perfect consonance with the best traditions of the British race. (Applause) Where in the world was there a country which had come under British influence and which had not received the boon of self-government? The quality of conceding free institutions to whomsoever required them was bred in the very bone of the Englishman, and India might be sure of achieving responsible government in the end. But the gift of responsible government must be only by stages. Before responsible government was given, the people must be fit for it. If responsible government were given before people were fully qualified, disaster would surely be the result. Self-government must only come in the wake of proved fitness. (Hear, hear. Indians might depend upon it that once they were fit they would certainly get self-government. Had not the British given self-government to South Africa? In India also, the seeds of self-government had been sown, not yesterday or the day before, but so long ago as 1687. In that year Madras was given a Mayor and a Corporation, and one of the first Indian Alderman was Chinna Venkatádri. The first Indian Alderman was a non-Brahmin, and in the days when Madras was constituted into a Corporation there was no Brahmin preponderance The first Alderman of Madras was not an Iyer or Iyengar or Sastri. (Laughter.) In later times as well, progressive steps in self-government had been taken by the British in India. In 1861, for the first time non-officials were appointed additional members of the Legislative Council, but then there was no election, but only nomination. Then followed Lord Cross's Act of 1892, when something like an election was introduced, but real election was introduced only in 1909 by the Morley-Minto Reforms when the power of interpellation was also given to non-official members, as also the power of moving resolutions,

though it was not compulsory that the resolutions, when passed, should be accepted by Government Let Indians consider if there should not be some reasonable period of trial allowed for each successive instalment of reforms. Some time at least should have been allowed for the Morley-Minto Reforms being given a satisfactory trial before Indians started agitation afresh for reforms.

The Home Rulers were impatient idealists, who wanted reforms in a hurry. Within a year after the war broke out, a demand was made not for the next stage in the political reform, but the final stage. The Home Rulers now asked for elected members on the Executive Councils, and they asked for the right of passing budgets in the shape of money bills. The first demand was ridiculous and the other was equally so. How could the Head of Government carry on the administration of the country, if on the Executive Council there were members, not of his own selection, but those who had been thrust upon him? It would destroy the responsibility of the Head of the Government. To concede the passing of the budget would mean the administrative machinery in India coming to a standstill. They could strike out from the budget any item they pleased—for instance, the salary of the Viceroy, the Governor, or any European officer. In the English budget the salary of one like the Viceroy here would come under the "annual supply." It was open to them to place the salaries of the Viceroy and the others under the consolidated fund charges, which the Legislative Council could not have any power to stop. In that case, the reform asked for was useless. If the elected Legislative Council was given complete control over the budget, the situation might arise when the Government would find it difficult to get their financial proposals through. If the majority of members of the Legislative Council rejected the financial proposals of Government, the responsibility must rest on that majority to form an alternative Government to carry out the alternative policy; otherwise there would be demoralisation. Mere criticism would not do. A constructive policy was required. Until such time came, they had no right to give such a power to the majority in the Legislative Council. The meaning of responsible government was that the majority in the Legislative Council had power to dismiss the Government: in the absence of that power, it could not be called responsible government. If they were going to ask for responsible government, why did they not suggest a constitution similar to that in the colonies, in which the Viceroy would be a mere figure-head, and the Government would be carried on by the

Cabinets selected out of the majority in the Legislative Council. In fact, the Congress-League scheme of reforms, if granted, would result in the British being driven out of the country. The Home Rule advocates pointed out that the British would have the army and navy in India to look after, and they could not be prejudiced by giving Home Rule to India. What would happen if India was given Home Rule now was that the British would have to start afresh conquering the country with their army and navy. The British would be undoing their glorious labours of the past in India.

The Congress-League scheme of reforms contemplated the combining of a bureaucratic executive and an elected council, and that would never do. A council which had no real responsibility, but which could say whatever it wanted would soon become a demoralised body. And this fact seemed to be just dawning on the minds of some of the Home Rulers. Mrs. Besant was now asking for a form of government modelled on that of Australia. This very point he had been urging all these days. But he did not want the colonial or any other form of self-government to be given to India by the year 1923 as Mrs. Besant wanted. Indians were not ready yet for self-government and it was foolish to say that they were or would be by 1923.

It was easy for visionaries to talk of theoretical responsible government without realising what practical politics were. It was asked, why, when other countries had self-government, India should not have In Bulgaria, there were not so many castes and sub-castes, and there were no Brahmins. In France, the nation was homogeneous and highly cultured, and so, shortly after the French Revolution, a republic was established. In Russia, highly advanced in some respects, and very low in the stage of civilisation in other respects, the attempt to start a republic ended in failure In politics, nothing succeeded like successive lines. The Home Rulers, to get the signatures of people for their monster petition, spread a lie, that under the new Government there would be no taxes. Reforms in India had always been granted by the British people of their own accord and would be given in future also.

He was not to be understood as being against all progress. Speaking for the non-Brahmins of this presidency, he would say that he stood for the old constitutional party of the Indian National Congress. He stood for the ideals of the Indian National Congress, and that body was in the hands of the saner section of Indians. The non-Brahmins wanted

political progress by stages, with self-Government as the final goal Applause.) The non-Brahmins also did not want to wring out reforms from the Government. The non-Brahmins were confident that, in the future as in the past, there would be steady political reform in the country. The non-Brahmins felt that the time had come for another instalment of reforms, and that they were not afraid of pressing respectfully on the attention of the Government, which had at heart the true progress of India. The suggestions for reforms made by non-Brahmins were contained in the various addresses they had presented to the Viceroy and Secretary of State in Madras. The non-Brahmins favoured the compartmental system of autonomy. They wanted certain spheres of administration to be marked out and Indian policy to prevail there. Let them look at Ireland for which a Home Rule Bill was being forged. Ireland by the gift of Home Rule was not going to embody within herself all power in the land.

It was said that Home Rulers asked for Home Rule in India in the sense Home Rulers in Ireland wanted Home Rule there. None of the Home Rule Bills introduced till now in the British Parliament professed to transfer the power to impose tariff duty to the Irish Parliament. There were many other powers excluded from the purview o' the Irish Parliament. The Association 'or which he stands had asked only that certain spheres of influence should be transferred to the people. The existing conditions of the country being different from the conditions in other countries, extra caution was necessary here, and hence they asked for the compartmental system.

The non-Brahmins were most emphatically for political rogress, but they wanted that progress to be careful and graduall. They did not want to progress at a break-neck speed. The charge levelled against the non-Brahmin leaders that they were being wire-pulled rom behind was false. The non-Brahmins were not puppets in the hands o officials. (Applause.) "Justice," the organ o non-Brahmins, was not a subsidised organ. The paper had not received a pie of subsidy in the past from any quarter and had no intention of asking or any in the future. Speaking personally also, he would most emphatically assert that he had no axes to grind by taking part in the non-Brahmin movement. He had not been promised any high office and never in his li e had he asked for any avour o Government officials. His colleague, Mr. Theagaraya Chetty, was also in the same boat with him. Mr. Theagaraya Chetty was not working in the non-Brahmin cause with any interested motive. The editor of "Hindu" in an address delivered by him had stated that the Non-Brahmin

Movement had been started distinctly with official support and guidance. That statement was a Brahminical lie. The Non-Brahmin Movement wanted absolutely no official support. (Applause.) He himself could guide the political movement without any guidance from officials as well as Mr. Kasthuriranga Iyengar could. Again, Sir S. Subrahmanya Iyer had been saying that non-Brahmin discontent, though it had long existed in the country, had now been given a political tinge by the wire-pulling of the Government. Most emphatically again he would assert that there had been no Government wire-pulling where the glorious. Non-Brahmin Movement was concerned. The non-Brahmins came out openly at the present juncture to express their disapproval o' the break-neck speed at which Brahmins wanted to proceed. The non-Brahmins' reply would be that the feeling against the British people became strong a'ter the war broke out, and that feeling was due to German machinations and intrigues. The Germans had spent enormous sums and organised the Indians in America and sent them by successive batches to India, and, in 1915, they very nearly created a rebellion in the Punjab where, on a particular night, all the arsenals were to be captured by the rebels. It was announced in the House of Commons that Lala Lajpatrai was connected with the German intriguers and the Home Secretary asked the Government to investigate and find out the exact extent of the German machinations in India. They had reason to conclude that the extravagant changes advocated by the Home Rulers must necessarily proceed from German sources. Mr. Montagu had received in'ormation from Home Rulers and anti-Home Rulers and would certainly know the actual state of affairs. Knowing all the machinations that had taken place, it was perfectly legitimate to suspect there was wire-pulling where the Home Rule movement was concerned. He was not in the least afraid of a searching enquiry as to the genesis and growth of the Non-Brahmin Movement, but at the same he would demand a similar enquiry with regard to the Home Rule movement in India.

Lastly, he emphatically believed that the Congress-League scheme o' reforms stood no chance of being conceded. The scheme was dead as a doornail. Its chances of resurrection were nil, and that was good for India, their mother country, which the non-Brahmins so patiently loved. He had great hoped that the suggestions contained in the Address presented by the Non-Brahmin Liberal Federation would be accepted in the main by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, whatever might have been said from the Congress plat'orm and written by the Home Rulers. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State had come and gone. People should not think that political agitation was over. On the other

hand, it had just started. Non-Brahmins should not be content to rest on their oars now. There were troubles ahead and it was necessary to continue the non-Brahmin agitation. Mrs. Besant was hopeful that the Labour Party in England would support her. He would like to have a talk with the Labour Party before they voted for Mrs. Besant's proposals. He was prepared to take up the gauntlet anywhere. (Applause.) He would like to tell the Labour Party how the Panchamas were treated here and ask them whether they would vote for Mrs. Besant's proposals and give the authority to the very oppressors of the Panchamas and the labouring classes. He had great faith in the principles that guided the British democracy. If all that was to be done, if the sphere of public activity was to be transferred to other climes and other surroundings, that required public organisation. Therefore, they should keep up the organisation already established and never relax their vigilance till they attained the promised land. (Prolonged cheers.)

The Zamindar of Telaprole.

The Zamindar of Telaprole seconded the resolution. He said :—

" I will further emphasise the necessity for a cautious advance, because I belong to a class, the zamindars, who have everything to lose by hasty and ill-considered methods o' political reconstruction. Revolutionaries in all countries in the world have somehow come to consider the landed proprietors as their natural enemies. The first thing that the Russian revolutionaries did the other day was to abolish all property in land; and I have a shrewd suspicion that certain classes in this country would do the same if they got the chance of doing so. My object, therefore, this morning is to call the attention of my brother zamindars and other landed proprietors to the risk they run in taking sentimental views of political reconstruction.

" Neither by revolution nor by hasty reforms can stable Governments be safely established.

" The charge has often been brought against Zamindars in this country that they do not take sufficient interest in the welfare of their tenantry, and they do not evince sufficient interest in public questions The first charge is the result of ignorance on the part of those who make the charge, because the men who accuse the zamindars of not taking interest in their tenantry know very little about what is going on in zamindari areas of the various zamindars. The charge comes with ill-grace from our Brahmin friends, for, if the zamindars as a class have done one thing more than another,

it has been in feeding and otherwise lavishing their wealth on that very particular class. It has often struck me that the zamindar's shortcomings are looked at through a magnifying glass, while the good he had been able to do is viewed through the other end of the telescope. The good that the zamindar does to his own tenantry is never known beyond the territorial extent of the zamindari, while the subscriptions given for institutions, etc., started by interested people, with an outward show of some remote connection with the welfare of the people at large, are advertised broadcast. Our position as landed proprietors is one involving great responsibility. We cannot afford to indulge in a demand for catastrophic political changes as the ordinary carpet-beggars can. We have carefully to consider the interests of safe and steady Government, for, under revolutionary conditions, we stand to lose more than anyone else in the country. The Home Rulers may tempt us with the prospect of seats in the guilded Second Chamber under a Home Rule administration, of high titles and the firing of popguns and chieftainships. But you must remember that the average Home Ruler, who has practically no stake in the country, is waiting for an opportunity to follow the policy of Russian revolutionaries to abolish all the private property in land, in order that they may take possession of it in the name of the Home Rule Government."

The resolution was supported by Mr. T. A. Ramalingam Chetti and others and carried.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION

Prince K. S. Dorai Rajah

Prince K. S. Dorai Rajah moved the next resolution :—

> This Confederation emphatically urges upon H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State that any step taken for introducing responsible government in this country, which does not provide for the full representation of the non-Brahmins on a communal basis, having regard to their numbers, their tax-paying capacity and their property qualifications, is bound to end in failure and disaster, and this Confederation will strongly oppose the introduction of any reforms in which such provision is not made.

In moving the resolution, he said he only reaffirmed the principle of similar resolutions passed at the several Non-Brahmin Conferences held in this province. It was a non-controversial resolution so far as the non-Brahmins of

this province were concerned. He was of opinion that if communal representation be granted, all differences would disappear, the priestly class, which considered itself their superiors both in intellect and power, would find in them more than its match. It would have to climb down from its high pedestal. The clamour of superiority would vanish and the veil would be lifted. They would stoutly oppose any political reform which did not give them adequate communal representation, for any grant of political concessions designed by the Home Rulers was sure to be a failure, and communal representation on a territorial basis or mixed electorates would certainly be a fraud.

Rai Bahadur K. Venkata Reddi Naidu seconded the resolution.

Mr. Mohammad Usman Sahib.

Mr. Mohammed Usman Sahib, in supporting, said :—

When the reforms were introduced, the Muslim community got separate direct communal representation. The result of this was an enormous increase in their political rights and privileges, which had contributed greatly to the general advancement of the Muslim community. Similarly, if all other non-Brahmin communities should get similar privileges, there would be no doubt that they would make a great advance. If the Dravidians had a few representatives in the Legislative Council, he was sure, through their efforts, many grievances would be redressed. The representation of all communities in the Legislative Council would be a great step in democratic advancement. The non-Brahmin community should clearly tell the Government that they wanted direct communal representation first and all the other things might come afterwards.

Messrs P. Nelliayappa Pillai, I. Suryamurthi Pillai and Lakshmipathi supported the resolution in Tamil and Telugu, and it was carried unanimously.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION IN PUBLIC SERVICES

Mr. M. Govindarajulu Naidu, Barrister-at-Law, then moved ;—

This Conefderation is of opinion that, with a view to more equal distribution of political power and official influence among the various communities constituting the Indian population, and the prevention of oppression by the officially

influential section of the community of other and less fortunately placed communities, it is imperatively necessary that there should be adequate communal representation in the public services as well as in public bodies. It is further of opinion that stringent rules and laws should be framed and enforced to ensure the proper representation of non-Brahmin communities in every grade of the public service and on the public bodies.

In moving this resolution, he said that the Brahmins had captured all the places in the public service of the country. It was untrue that the non-Brahmins were intellectually inferior to the Brahmins. B. A., M. A., B. L, and M. L., were all dhobi marks, They were not passports for success in life. The clannish influence of the Brahmins had paved their way to official position. Brahmin influence at the official quarters should be put an end to. It must be made a declared policy of the Government that a percentage of offices should be thrown open to the non-Brahmins exclusively.

Rao Bahadur M. G. Arogiyasami Pillai.

Rao Bahadur M. G. Arogiyasami Pillai, in seconding the resolution, said ;—

Government service had a charm in this country. It had a privilege and dignity of its own. The Brahmins had captured all public offices in the State and the non-Brahmins were severely left behind. The interests of the non-Brahmins should be particularly safeguarded in the direction of securing them public offices in proportion to their influence and importance in the country.

Mr. P. Ramanathan.

Mr. P. Ramanathan, in supporting the resolution, said :—

The interests of the non-Brahmins would greatly suffer if there was no adequate communal representation in the publie services as well as on public bodies. The Government should lay down a definite policy to that effect.

Mr. P. Doraisami Naidu.

Mr. P Doraisami Naidu further supported the resolution and said ;—

The preposterous and unjust statement of Sir Subrahmanya Iyer in his memorandum, that the Non-Brahmin Movement was anti-national, could only be characterised a misleading and malicious. The same should be said of

similar statement of Mr. Kasthuriranga Iyengar in his Welcome Address to the delegates of the Madras Special Provincial Conference. The non-Brahmins had great difficulties in getting high appointments The difficulties should be removed and their way higher up service should be made easy and smooth.

Mr. D. A. G Ratnam and J. N. Ramanathan also supported the resolution, which was unanimously carried.

The Confederation adjourned at 11-30 a.m. to reassemble at 2 p.m.

The Confederation resumed its sitting at 2 p.m. with the Rajah of Venkatagiri in the chair. The discussion on the resolutions was proceeded with.

RAILWAY SERVICE

Mr. T. Sreenivasa Mudaliar

Mr. T. Sreenivasa Mudaliar moved the following resolution :—

> This Confederation urges upon railway administrations that in the appointments of officers and subordinates the claims of the non-Brahmins of proved merit and faithful service should receive proper recognition.

Mr. P. Muthukrishna Naidu seconded the resolution and it was supported by Mr. Thangavelu Pillai and S. Venugopala Chetti.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

Mr. Maruthamuthu Moopanar

Mr. T. R. Maruthamuthu Moopanar moved the following resolution :—

> This Confederation recommends that Local Boards and Municipalities should be left completely in the management of non-officials.

The resolution was duly seconded and supported and carried unanimously.

EDUCATION

Mr T. Ethiraja Mudaliar

Mr. T. Ethiraja Mudaliar, B.A., B.L., moved the following resolutions ;—

> A. This Confederation is of opinion that the time has come for the fulfilment of the pledges repeatedly given by Government that primary education will have the first claim on public funds ; that the policy of spending on secondary and collegiate education three times

as much money as is spent on primary education, is contrary to all progressive principles of state policy; that the rapid extension of primary education with the object of abolishing illiteracy in this country at no distant date should no longer be delayed; that for the practical carrying out of this object and with a view to the early introduction of free and compulsory education, legislation should be undertaken for the establishment of School Boards or Education Committees, containing popular representatives, selected on a communal basis, and for the provision of sufficient funds to be placed at the disposal of such Boards or Committees.

B. This Confederation is further of opinion that immediate steps should be taken to establish a sufficient number of industrial schools for the training of artisans and mechanics, and ample facilities should be offered for education and research in technical subjects, in order that the necessary number of experts and research workers might be made available to the Indian industrialists, and that the establishment of primary and secondary agricultural schools and agricultural colleges, foreshadowed in a recent Government of India resolution, should not be delayed any further.

C. This Confederation is of opinion that sufficient encouragement is not given for the education of non-Brahmin Hindus, and begs, in view of the fact that the main portion of the taxes are paid by the non-Brahmins, to recommend to Government the adoption of a scheme of scholarships for the benefit of non-Brahmin boys and girls.

D. This Confederation urges on Government the necessity and justice of giving free education to the Adi-Dravidas and other depressed classes in all Government and aided institutions.

E. This Confederation is of opinion that any school or college or institution, which refuses admission to pupils of a particular class or creed or colour, shall not be entitled to receive any contribution from revenue or other public funds.

The Hon'ble K. Moopil Nair.

The Hon'ble Mr. Kavalaprara Moopil Nair, in seconding the resolution, said ;—

The best policy was not so much to stick to details as to try and get a move on. The great thing was to make a start in the direction of their object, and for this, what could play a better part than self-help? The request for Government interference would, naturally, have to be responded gradually; and he considered it would be much easier to get the machinery to move faster by real action on their own part. The point was to know what they wanted and work at it. The Government was then sure to come to their help, for their claims were clear, their demands fair and their requests modest.

Miss O. Jeevaratnam.

Miss Jeevaratnam, the daughter of Mr. O. Kandasawmi Chetti, supported the resolution. She said ;—

She supported the resolutions because it aimed at remedying the defect of their country's civilisation. It sought to bring light to the masses and to womenkind, though the emphasis on the latter was not so strong as she could wish.

Messrs P. M. Sivagnanam Mudaliar., B.A. B.L., Minakshisundaram Pillai, B.A. B.L, (of Udamalpet), Mr M. C. Rajah, Mrs. Alamelumangathayarammal and Mr. Kumarasami Pillai, B.A. B.L. (of Tuticorin), also supported the resolution.

The resolution was carried.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRIES

Mr. L. K. Thulasiram

Mr. L. K. Thulasiram moved the following resolution :—

> This Confederation urges that, over and above affording facilities for industrial and technological studies, the Government should adopt all means in their power for encouraging the infant industries of India, and specially by a system of protective tariff, subject to a policy of imperial preference.

Mr. V. K. Krishna Nainar seconded the resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Chitti Babu Naidu and Mirza Abdul Hussein Khan Bahadur, and carried unanimously.

FUSION OF CASTES

Zamindar of Singampatti

Dewan Bahadur T. N. S. Theerthapathi, Zamindar of Singampatti, moved the following resolutions :—

A. This Confederation is strongly of opinion that, for the unification of non-Brahmin classes, there should be a fusion of castes, and urges the necessity of legislation for the removal of legal hindrances, which stand in the way of a free social intercourse between the different classes of the Indian people.

B. This Confederation is of opinion that all restrictions, which prevent Adi-Dravidas and other depressed classes from a free use of public wells and tanks and public streets should be removed.

This resolution was seconded by Mr. O Kandaswami Chetti and duly supported and was carried unanimously.

PERIODICAL REVISION OF ASSESSMENT

Mr. S. T. Shanmugam Pillai

Mr. S. T. Shanmugam Pillai moved the following resolution ;—

In view of the fact that the Government demand on land is already heavy in most parts of the Presidency and in order to secure to ryotwari landholders the full benefit of improvements effected by them, this Confederation urges on the Government the necessity of abolishing the recent system of periodical revision of rates of assessment.

Mr. Adinarayana Reddi seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mr. C. Subbaraya Mudaliar, and passed unanimously.

DHARMARAKSHNA SABHA

Mr. Kanthimathinatha Pillai moved the following resolution :—

This Confederation notes with regret that the activities of the Dharmarakshana Sabha have resulted in the transfer of the management of religious and charitable institutions from the representatives

of the individuals and communities that originally endowed them to the hands of Brahmins, and in the diversion of funds for purposes which benefit the Brahmins alone; and resolves that the properties of non-Brahmin mutts and other religious or charitable institutions, such as Devasthanams, be under no circumstances allowed to pass into the hands of the Brahmin community and that the surplus proceeds thereof be utilised for the exclusive benefit of the non Brahmin community.

This Confederation also recommends that special rules be framed by legislation, if necessary, for preventing such undesirable transfers and diversions as are referred to above.

This was duly seconded and supported and carried unanimously.

Rao Bahadur R. Venkataratnam Naidu and Dr. T. M. Nair thanked the delegates, the zamindars, etc., for their support in the deliberations, and, with a few remarks from the President and three cheers to the King-Emperor, the Confederation terminated.

At 8 p. m. there was a cosmopolitan dinner in the Pachaiyappa's College for the delegates and other guests.

APPENDIX
RULES
OF
The South Indian Liberal Federation
(As they stood in 1917)

1. The name of the Federation shall be the South Indian Liberal Federation.

2. The head office of the Federation shall be in 16-A, Mount Road, Madras.

3. The objects of the Federation are:—

(a) to promote the Educational, Social, Economic, Political, Material and Moral progress of all communities of Southern India other than Brahmins.

(b) to discuss public questions and make a true and timely representation to Government of the views and interests of the people of Southern India with the object of safeguarding and promoting the interests of all communities of Southern India other than Brahmins.

(c) to disseminate by public lectures, by distribution of literature and by other means, sound and liberal views in regard to public questions and thus create and direct public opinion.

4. The Creed of the Federation is as follows:—

Members of the Liberal Federation are averse to any violent and sudden constitutional changes which will impair the authority of the British Government to which they look for holding the scales even between class and class. They are, however, strongly in favour of progressive political development, of a well defined policy of trust in the people, qualified by prudence, and of timely and liberal concessions in the wake of proved fitness. The time for the grant of complete Self-Government to India has not yet come. This is a time for preparation to attain that goal. No intermediate step that is taken with a view to reaching the final goal will be acceptable to the members of the Federation, which does not secure complete representation to the different communities that constitute the population of this Presidency in proportion to their numerical strength and stake in the country.

5. Members of communities of Southern India, of not lers than 21 years of age, other than Brahmins, shall be eligible for membership of the Federation. Students of any School or College other than graduates shall not be eligible for membership.

6. Each Member shall pay an annual subscription of Rs. 3 (either in one sum or by instalments).

7. Application for membership shall be made in Form A hereto annexed Applicants will become members on the acceptance of their application by the Executive Committee who shall have the right to reject any application without assigning reasons.

8. The General body of the Federation shall meet at least once a year and as often as the Executive Committee may resolve.

9. Twenty-five Members of the Federation shall form a quorum for the Meeting of the General Body of the Association.

10. The proceedings of the Meeting of the General body shall be recorded in a Minutes book.

11. At least 14 days' notice of the Annual General Meeting shall be given, specifying the place, date and hour of Meeting. Special General Meetings may be convened at shorter notice.

12. The Federation shall be managed by an Executive Committee of 25 Members in addition to a President, four Vice-Presidents and four Secretaries and one Treasurer.

13. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once a month.

14. Seven Members of the Executive Committee shall form a quourm.

15. The Executive Committee shall have power to initiate all measures and do everything necessary or desirable to further the objects of the Federation.

16. The Executive Committee shall have power, subject to confirmation by the General body of the Federation, to frame bye-laws.

17. The Members of the Executive Committee shall be elected at the annual meeting of the Association. Vacancies occurring in the course of the year may be filled by the Executive Committee.

18 The Members of the Executive Committee shall hold office only for one year but shall be eligible for re-election.

19. The proceedings of the Executive Committee shall be recorded in a Minutes book.

FORM A.

To

THE HONORARY SECRETARY,
THE SOUTH INDIAN LIBERAL FEDERATION.

Sir,

Please enlist me as a member of The South Indian Liberal Federation whose Creed is as follows :—

Members of the Liberal Federation are averse to any violent and sudden constitutional changes which will impair the authority of the British Government to which they look for holding the scales even between class and class. They are, however, strongly in favour of progressive political development, of a well defined policy of trust in the people, qualified by prudence, and of timely and liberal concessions in the wake of proved fitness. The time for the grant of complete Self-Government to India has not yet come. This is a time for preparation to attain that goal. No intermediate step that is taken with a view to reaching the final goal will be acceptable to the members of the Federation, which does not secure complete representation to the different communities that constitute the population of this Presidency in proportion to their numerical strength and stake in the country.

Date,............193 . **Yours truly**

PARTICULARS

Name in full ____________________

Age ____________________

Caste or Community ____________________

Occupation ____________________

Residence ________

South Indian Liberal Federation

THE CONSTITUTION

(AS IT STOOD IN 1931.)

1. The name of the Association shall be "The South Indian Liberal Federation."

2. The objects of the South Indian Liberal Federation are—

(a) to obtain Swaraj for India as a component part of the British Empire at as early a date as possible by all peaceful and legitimate and constitutional means;

(b) to promote goodwill and unity among the different Non-Brahmin classes and communities of Southern India through safeguarding their interests by means of adequate and Communal Representation, as well as by social amelioration and reorganisation, with a view to the ultimate fusion of all castes;

(c) to promote the educational, social, economic, industrial, agricultural and political progress of all Non-Brahmin communities in Southern India;

(d) to effectively organise public opinion and express it on all questions which are deemed by general consent to be of importance and to act as the authoritative and representative mouthpiece of the Non-Brahmins of Southern India; and

(e) generally to do such acts or things as shall be deemed expedient in furtherance of the above objects.

ORGANISATIONS

3. The South Indian Liberal Federation shall consist of:—

(a) All urban and rural Non-Brahmin Associations professing the principles and the policy of the Federation and affiliated to it; and

(b) The Party in the Legislative Council.

MEMBERSHIP

4. Every Non-Brahmin, who is over 21 years of age, and who accepts the creed of the South Indian Liberal Federation, shall be eligible for membership of an urban or rural Association.

The term "Non-Brahmin" shall include also Muhammadans, Indian Christians, Domiciled Anglo Indians and Europeans.

OFFICERS

5. There shall be a President, five Vice-Presidents, a Chairman of the Executive Committee, a General Secretary, a Chief Organiser, three Divisional Organisers, a Treasurer, two Trustees and an Auditor.

PRESIDENT

6. The President shall be the Leader of the Party and shall preside at all meetings of the South Indian Liberal Federation. In the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside at such meetings.

CHAIRMAN

7. The Chief Whip of the Party in the Legislative Council shall be the Chairman of the Executive Committee. He shall preside at all meetings of the Executive Committee.

GENERAL SECRETARY

8. The General Secretary shall be the Executive Officer of the Federation, and shall act under the orders of the Executive Committee. He shall conduct its correspondence and carry out its orders and resolutions, manage the Committee Office and deal with all administrative affairs not specifically assigned to the Chairman or other Officers. The General Secretary shall be the Convener of all meetings of the Executive Committee of the South Indian Liberal Federation. He shall maintain a permanent record of all Proceedings both of the Executive Committee and of the General Meetings of the South Indian Liberal Federation. He shall maintain a Register of the Members of all the Branch Associations both at the Headquarters and in the Districts.

CHIEF ORGANISER

9. The Chief Organiser shall be responsible for the formation of local Associations all over the Presidency, and shall assist in the proper working of the same.

THE DIVISIONAL ORGANISERS

10. Divisional Organisers will assist the Chief Organiser in the work of management in collaboration with and under the guidance of the Chief Organiser. The Presidency shall be divided into 3 Divisions :—

The First Division shall consist of the districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari, Kistna, Guntur, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur, Bellary, Nellore and Chittoor;

The Second Division shall consist of the districts of Chingleput, Madras, N. Arcot, S. Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly Salem, Madura, Ramnad, Tinnevelly, Coimbatore and the Nilgiris ;

The third Division shall consist of Malabar and South Canara.

Each of these divisions will demand the immediate attention of the Divisional Organisers for the starting of District and Taluq Associations.

TREASURER

11. The Treasurer shall keep the accounts of the Federation and shall be responsible for the expenditure of the moneys for duly authorized purposes.

TRUSTEES

12. There shall be elected by the Executive Committee two Trustees, who shall be responsible for the proper investment of the Party Fund.

AUDITOR

13. The Auditor shall be also elected by the Executive Committee to scrutinize the accounts of the Federation and submit reports thereon to the Executive Committee.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

14. The Executive Committee shall consist of :—

(a) The Officers of the Federation ex-officio.

(b) Two Representatives from each District selected by the District Association.

(c) twelve Members from Madras; and

(d) such number of Members, not exceeding sixteen, as may be co-opted by the Executive Committee for the proper representation of unrepresented communities and classes, including Backward and Depressed classes.

MEETINGS

15. There shall be a meeting of the Executive Committee once in every quarter. A meeting of the Executive Committee may also be convened whenever the Chairman thinks fit or on a requisition sent by at least ten Members of the Committee.

QUORUM

16. The quorum for a meeting of the Executive Committee shall be 15. The meetings of the Committee shall be convened only after 7 days' clear notice.

DUTIES

17. The duties of the Executive Committee shall be:—

(1) to give effect to the objects of the Federation ;

(2) to organise and arrange for meetings of the Federation and for the Annual Confederation ;

(3) to carry out the resolutions passed at the meetings of the Federation and the Confederation ;

(4) to organise elections to the Provincial and the Imperial Legislative bodies ;

(5) to organise for the collection of a Party Fund ; and

(6) to send nominations of Office-bearers to the General Body for its consideration. It shall send up panels of four names for each appointment.

It shall be competent for the Executive Committee to delegate to one or more Standing Sub-Committees all or any of its powers for the speedy disposal of business.

CHANGE IN CONSTITUTION

18. The constitution of the Federation may be amended at a meeting of the Confederation. There shall be one month's clear notice given before a meeting of the Federation is convened to consider any change in the constitution.

THE S. I. L. F. PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT

19. There shall be a Publication Department established by and for the Federation. It shall be the business of this Department to render efficient help to the South Indian Liberal Federation and its Branches and affiliated Associations in their educational work by extending and systematising the preparation and poduction of political literature. The Department shall issue leaflets and pamphlets to meet the varying phases of the Party politics and shall furnish all necessary information on current political questions to Members of Council, candidates, public speakers and others who may require it. The Publication Department shall be in

charge and under the control of a Committee, which shall be composed of the Chief Whip and five members elected by the Executive Committee.

PARTY FUNDS

20. There shall be constituted a Party Fund, to which shall be credited all donations and subscriptions made or given by any member of the public. The Fund shall vest in two Trustees, who shall be responsible for the proper investment thereof. There shall be constituted a Committee, consisting of the President, the General Secretary, the Chief Whip, the Chief Organiser and five Members elected by the Executive Committee annually, and such Committee shall have the power of disposal over the Party Funds. The Party Funds shall be devoted to the following purposes ;—

(1) The maintenance of Party Journals.

(2) The publication of pamphlets, leaflets, etc., by the Federation Publication Department.

(3) The financing of paid Agents, Lecturers and Organisers to propagate the principles of the Federation and educate the masses regarding the Party Programme and activities and to form Branch Associations.

(4) The financing of such Party candidates as this Committee may decide upon to contest elections to the Legislatures.

The two Trustees shall be empowered to jointly sign cheques and to give receipts.

CONFEDERATION

21. There shall be held a provincial confederation once in every year.

DISTRICT ASSOCIATIONS

22. There shall be a District Branch of the South Indian Liberal Federation in each District with Sub-Branches. A subscription of As 4 in one instalment per annum shall entitle any Non-brahmin subscribing to the objects of the Federation to become a Member of the District Association or any of its Branches. The Office of the District Federation shall be composed of a President, a Secretary and a Treasurer. There shall also be an Executive Committee composed of a representative from the Association at the Headquarters of the District and two representatives of every Sub-Branch in the District. The District Executive Committee shall elect its Officers and shall

also elect two representatives to the Executive Committee of the South Indian Liberal Federation. Each District Association shall contribute 10 per cent. of its Funds annually to the South Indian Liberal Federation. It shall be competent for the District Associations to make Rules and Regulations, Laws and Bye-Laws, not inconsistent with those of the South Indian Liberal Federation, for its own jurisdiction. In cases of dispute, the matter shall be referred to the Leader for his decision.

THE PARTY IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

23. The affairs of the Party in the Legislative Council shall be managed by the Leader of the Party with the help and advice of the Executive Committee of the Party. The Party Executive Committee in the Legislative Council shall consist of not less than one third of the total number of M. L. C.'s belonging to the party and shall as far as possible represent various communities and interests, such as Zemindars, Muhammadans, Christians, Depressed Classes, Tamils, Telugus and West Coast Members. The Leader and the Whips of the Party shall be ex-offico members of the Executive. One third of its Members shall retire by rotation every year, but shall be eligible for re-election. The Whips, who are the Executive of the Party, shall be eletcted at the beginning of each new Council and shall hold office for the period of the new Council and they shall be responsible to the Party for the proper conduct of work in the Council. The Executive Committee shall meet once in every month. The Ministers shall consult the Executive on all matters of Party policy and all matters affecting the interests of the Party in the Council.

MISCELLANEOUS RULES

24. In case of equlity of votes at any meeting either of the General Body or its Committee, the President-Officer shall have a second or casting vote. In the absence of a quorum, action may be taken by the President-Leader in consultation with the Chief Whip and the General Secretary. In case of emergency, the President may take any action he thinks necessary in consultation with the Chief Whip and the General Secretary, but shall inform the Executive Committee thereof within 15 days therefrom. The President shall be entitled to be present at all meetings of any Sub-Committee of the Federation.

SOCIAL PROGRESS COMMITTEE

25. There shall be a Standing Committee, called the Social Progress Sub-Committee, consisting of 8 Members elected by the Executive Committee The Secretary of this Committee shall be recommended by the Executive Committee and shall be elected by the General Body along with its Office-Bearers. The Social Progress Sub-Committee shall organise ways and means of promoting social unity and solidarity in the various sections of the Non-brahmin Community, inclusive of the Depressed and Backward Classes.

VOLUNTEER CORPS

26. There shall be Volunteer Corps under the control and direction of the South Indian Liberal Federation in each District and in the City of Madras. The General Officer-in-Charge of the entire Corps for the Presidency shall be nominated by the President. The Captains and Subordinate Officers of the District Volunteer Corps shall be nominated by the General Officer.

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